40324

National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE

THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

NAME OF AUTHOR/*NOM DE L'AUTEUR* Brian Walter TAYLOR

TITLE OF THESIS/*TITRE DE LA THÈSE* Jeremy Bentham and the Education of the Poor In England.

UNIVERSITY/*UNIVERSITÉ* The University of Alberta

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/ *GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE* Doctor of Philosophy

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/*ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE GRADE* 1978

NAME OF SUPERVISOR/*NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE* Dr.P.J.Miller

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

DATED/*DATÉ* 14th September, 1978 SIGNED/*SIGNÉ*

PERMANENT ADDRESS/*RÉSIDENCE FIXÉ*
4,Hawthorne Terrace
Fredericton,
New Brunswick, E3B 2S5.

NL-91 (3-74)

National Library of Canada
Cataloguing Branch
Canadian Theses Division

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction du catalogage
Division des thèses canadiennes

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

NL-339 (3/77)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

JEREMY BENTHAM AND THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR IN ENGLAND

by

©

Brian W. Taylor

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND
RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN HISTORY OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
FALL
1978

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Jeremy Bentham and the Education of the Poor in England" submitted by Brian W. Taylor in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History of Education.

Supervisor

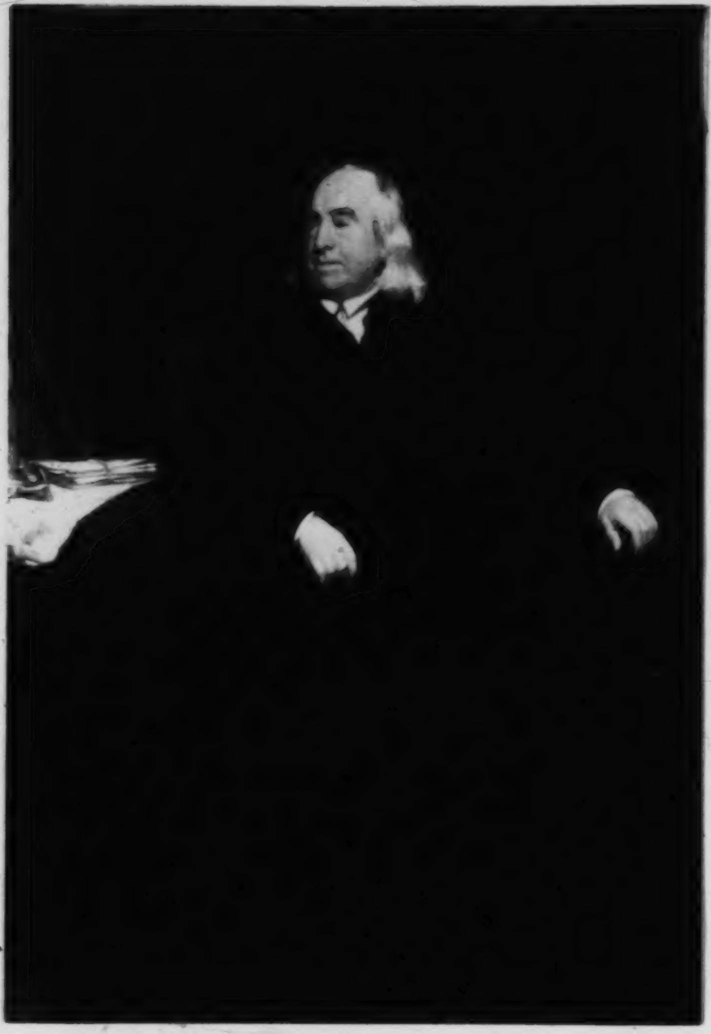
D R Pugh

Henry W. Hodysh

George A. Rothrock

Clive Beck
External Examiner

Date September 13 1978



Jeremy Bentham

1748 - 1832

DEDICATION

To Frances and Liam -
without whose sacrifices
this would not have been
possible.

Abstract

This study is an attempt to explain the ideas of Jeremy Bentham with respect to the education of the poor, and in so doing to establish his reputation as a significant contributor to educational thought and practice.

For Bentham and many of his contemporaries the poor presented a problem and a threat. They were a problem because of the expense of maintaining them, because of their seeming predilection for idleness, crime, and ignorance, and because of a variety of moral defects to which they were subject. They werea threat because in their present unimproved state, coupled with their recent tendency to imbibe notions of liberty and equality, they threatened the sanctity of middle class property, the security of which Bentham had postulated as the primary aim of government.It was the nature of Bentham, with his genius for inventing legislative codes, to attempt to provide a comprehensive and consistent solution to this problem, combining both legislative and educational means.

Bentham held a peculiarly wide notion of what properly constituted education and what it might reasonably be expected to achieve. The success of the education he prescribed for the poor depended upon its being consistently applied over an extended period of time. It had, also, to be consistent with the Principle of Utility which he had formulated, and it had

to be cheap. Such preconditions necessarily dictated an institutionalised setting, for it was only under such conditions that the educational environment could be controlled and contrary vitiating effects be eliminated. Bentham, therefore devoted the greater part of his life to devising just such institutions as poor-houses, prisons, schools and a variety of informal educational agencies all mutually complementary and all designed to educate the poor and maintain the existing social order.

This study has concentrated on providing the historical and philosophical background to Bentham's educational schemes with respect to the poor, and in describing in detail the institutions and other educational agencies in which he proposed to carry on that education.

Acknowledgements.

The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the following individuals and organisations for their help in the preparation of this thesis:

Dr.P.J.Miller and the members of his supervisory committee, for their invaluable help and always constructive criticism.

the Canada Council,who greatly assisted by awarding a Doctoral Fellowship.

the Librarian of University College, London, and particularly his Assistant Mrs.J.Perceval and her staff at the D.M.S.Watson Library, for their suggestions, their courtesy and their unfailing help.Also, to the Librarians and staff of the British Library and the Library of the State of Maine for their willingness to make materials readily available.

to Professor W.E.S.Thomas of Christ Church College, Oxford, and to Professor J.H.Burns of University College, London, for their valuable suggestions with respect to bibliographic and primary source materials.

to Miss L.E.Matthews, who greatly assisted with research into Bentham's contributions to the Annals of Agriculture.

to my typist Miss Gail Gilmore, for her efficiency in preparing this manuscript,

Finally, to my wife Frances and my son Liam, for their patience over a lengthy period of time in which this project slowly came to fruition.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER Page

1 INTRODUCTION 1

The Social Class Basis of Bentham's Views on the Poor 1

Purposes of the Study 2

Educational Significance of Bentham 4

Reasons for the Neglect of Bentham 6

Connection With Contemporary Treatment of the Poor 7

Availability of Bentham's Work 8

The Limitations and Delimitations of the Study 9

Review of Significant Related Literature 12

Sources Used in Writing the Study 14

Process of Composition of the Study 18

Footnotes to Chapter 1 20

2 JEREMY BENTHAM: HIS LIFE, HIS AGE, ITS PROBLEMS 21

The Early Life of Bentham 22

Bentham's Entry Into Working 24

Later Life of Bentham 27

Social Changes in Bentham's Lifetime 32

The Plight of the Poor in Bentham's Lifetime 35

Bentham's Approach to Solving the Problems of the Poor 36

CHAPTER Page

The Poor as a Problem and a Threat 38

Education as a Solution to These Problems 44

Philosophical Basis of Bentham's Solution 46

Footnotes to Chapter 2 55

3 THE HOUSES OF INDUSTRY: THE POOR AND THE PROBLEM OF INDIGENCE 57

Historical Treatment of the Poor Laws . . . 58

Extent of the Problem of Poverty 60

Education as a Solution to Pauperism 64

Reasons for Bentham's Interest in The Poor 65

Bentham's Ideas on the Form of Poor Relief 76

Education as a Constituent Part of Bentham's Plan 79

Bentham's Views on Alternative Plans 81

The Organization and Principles of the National Charity Company 82

Principles of Management of the Houses of Industry 85

Assessment of Bentham's Plan 109

Footnotes to Chapter 3 114

4 PANOPTICON: THE POOR AND THE PROBLEM OF CRIME 123

The Extent of Crime in 18th Century England and Contemporary Solutions 124

CHAPTER Page

Reasons for Bentham's Interest in The Problem of Crime and Penal Reform 129

Bentham's Proposed Solution to the Problem of Crime 135

The "Struggle" for Panopticon 137

The Educational Fundation of Panopticon 145

Footnotes to Chapter 4 155

5 THE POOR, THE PROBLEM OF THE IDLE CHILD, AND THE SCHOOL 159

The Problem of Ignorance and Existing Educational Institutions 160

Bentham and the Process of Schooling 168

The Advantages to be Expected from Schooling 175

Bentham and the Principles of Pauper Education 177

Collateral Uses of Educational Institutions: The Paedotrophium 182

Collateral Uses of Educational Institutions: The Sotimion 191

The Content of Pauper Education 196

The Necessity of Educating the Poor 226

Footnotes to Chapter 5 229

6 THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE: THE POOR AND THE PROBLEM OF IGNORANCE 237

The Ignorance of the Poor and its Significance for Them 238

CHAPTER Page

Widespread Ignorance of the Poor 245

Bentham's Solution to the Problem of the Ignorance of the Poor 248

Bentham's Solution to the Problem of the Ignorance of the Poor: The Proposal for a Minister of Education 253

Bentham's Solution to the Problem of the Ignorance of the Poor: The Diffusion of Art and Science 256

Bentham's Solution to the Problem of the Ignorance of the Poor: The Collateral Uses of the Houses of Industry 261

Bentham's Solution to the Problem of the Ignorance of the Poor: Contraception as a Solution to Pauper Misery 276

Footnotes to Chapter 6 280

7 CONCLUSION 285

The Poor as a Problem and a Threat 286

Education as a Solution to the Problem of the Poor, via Houses of Industry, Prison, Schools, and Informal Education . . . 288

Reasons for Bentham's Involvement in the Education of the Poor 292

The Significance of Bentham and his Influence 294

Footnotes to Chapter 7 306

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOURCES 308

APPENDICES 327

Appendix A 328

APPENDICES Page

/Appendix B 329
Appendix C 330
Appendix D 331
Appendix E 332
Appendix F 341
Appendix G 344
Appendix H 347
Appendix I 349
Appendix J 351
Appendix K 353

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Jeremy Bentham was a member of the English middle classes; not, perhaps, a fully representative member embodying all their beliefs and outlooks (it is doubtful if such a being ever existed or could exist) but one who shared many of their concerns and attitudes. For the middle classes generally, and for Bentham in particular, the lower orders constituted a problem and posed a threat. The problem was that they were numerous and increasingly so, and appeared to have a distressing tendency towards idleness, drunkenness and all forms of vice and crime. The poor were thus viewed not only as objects of pity but as a severe financial burden and a threat to middle class property. Moreover, if the lower orders imbibed dangerous foreign notions of liberty and equality then the whole fabric of society would be threatened. They would become more potent rivals to the middle classes who were themselves involved in a power struggle with the traditional rulers of the country.

Bentham, like other members of his class, was interested in the problems presented by the poor. To begin with, he had enunciated the Principle of Utility which placed a clear obligation upon the legislator to augment the happiness of the mass of the people. And, again like others of his class, he was concerned that an uneducated pauper mass would rebel and bring down the entire existing social order. Thus, Bentham's writings on the poor and the indigent and their various concerns are extensive.

The major purpose of this study, therefore, is to describe and explain Bentham's contributions to the ongoing debate on the problems presented to society by the poor.

The related secondary objectives of this study are fourfold. The first is to cast some light on the often mis-read elements of Jeremy Bentham's social thought, the representation of Bentham as the prosy and eccentric philosopher being no longer acceptable. The second is to consider the nature of the problem posed by the poor in England at the end of the 18th Century. The third is to describe Bentham's own proposed solutions to alleviate the condition and improve the state of the poor. The fourth is to show that many of the solutions which were proposed and sometimes implemented by later utilitarians and evangelicals in the 19th Century frequently owed their origin to Bentham.

In the pursuit of these objectives three further problems arose. The first of these was to define those who constituted the poor, the second was to place Bentham's proposed solutions in the context of utilitarian theory, and the third was to describe the institutional arrangements in which it was envisaged such solutions would be applied.

If one opens almost any history of education, one finds the same names recurring. Matthew Arnold, to choose an example almost at random, is widely regarded as a "great educator." So are Plato, St. Augustine, Rousseau and Pestalozzi. Yet outside of the coterie of established Bentham scholars, Bentham is not so regarded. This neglect would be understandable if he were a minor figure, but this he obviously is not. Thomson wrote that

> Bentham founded a school of thought which, developing and changing in the hands of his disciples as the century progressed, provided a dynamic force of legal, social, political, and economic reform, and a touchstone for all governmental policies.[1]

Watson believes that "Bentham-ism remodelled law, education, local government, prisons and schools."[2]

John Stuart Mill, not admittedly a totally impartial observer but one qualified to impart an opinion always worth listening to, described Bentham as "the father of English innovation: both in doctrines and in institutions...he is...the great critical thinker of his age and country."[3] He concluded,

> After every abatement...there remains to Bentham an indisputable place among the great intellectual benefactors of mankind. His writings will form an indisputable part of the education of the highest order of practical thinkers; and the collected edition

> of them ought to be in the hands of everyone who would either understand his age, or take any beneficial part in the great business of it.[4]

Bentham's reputation as a philosopher and as a law reformer is already justly established beyond reproach. The intellectual movement that he founded was certainly one of the most important of the last century. He was an amazingly versatile and prolific writer and his followers dominated public life for the greater part of the century. In all that he wrote, and that is a considerable amount, Bentham was always conscious of the central importance of education. What Bentham referred to as "the plastic power of education" was vital to the working out of the Principle of Utility. And yet, whilst the reputations of Bentham the philosopher, Bentham the prison reformer, and Bentham the law reformer are firmly established, that of Bentham the educator is largely ignored. Adamson[5] does not mention him at all, though he does devote a few pages to Owen, Brougham and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Armytage[6] devoted only two pages to Bentham, and that entirely to the Chrestomathic idea, as though it represents the sum total of Bentham's contributions on the subject. Barnard[7] mentioned Bentham twice. Curtis and Boultwood[8] did the same. Jarman[9] mentioned him only once, and that en passant. Murphy[10] referred to Bentham three times. Stewart[11] used his name on six occasions, but devoted thirteen pages to the Hill family and their Hazelwood School, and a further eight pages to Robert Owen. Silver[12] devoted some space (a total of five pages in all) to Bentham, but again that dealt exclusively with Chrestomathia. Black, Lottich and Seckinger[13] in their 784 page The Great Educators ignored Bentham entirely whilst Hugh C. Black merited a total of forty-one pages. Only in Judges'[14] book is anything like a sort of balanced account arrived at: in it, Bentham has twelve pages all to himself. It may be seen, therefore, that Bentham as an educator has very largely been ignored. It is believed that this neglect of Bentham is a serious omission and one which would justify this thesis, on one account, as being at least a start towards redressing the balance a little.

It is not difficult to understand why the neglect has come about. Bentham wrote between fifteen and twenty pages of manuscript every day of his adult life, and he lived to be a very old man. The bulk of his manuscripts on its own is, therefore, daunting. His literary style is frequently obscure and (until very recently) he has been badly served by his editors. In many ways his austerity and his personal idiosyncracies make him an unfashionable figure, and were it not for the quality of his work, even a figure of fun. Such people do not readily become "great educators", particularly in view of the current trend towards bestowing the accolade of "greatness" on those Progressive educators who are very much child centred. This, Bentham certainly was not. In addition to this, few of his works are obviously and overtly "educational" in nature, except for Chrestomathia. If, therefore, Bentham is thought of as an educator at all, it is invariably by way of that one work. Whilst it is an important and fascinating work it remains only a part of a total picture the rest of which is largely unknown or ignored.

A second justification for the study is the need to understand the origin of the treatment of the poor in the 19th and 20th centuries. Contemporary attempts to ameliorate the social conditions of the poor are still influenced by the same assumption on which Bentham himself acted, that is, that something has to be done to, or with, or for, them by those who understand what it is they really need.

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries the lower social orders were thought of in many different ways by their contemporaries. Paine, Burke, Place, Wilkes, Hume, Wordsworth, Jane Austen, Cobbett, Hunt, Owen, Lovett and Brougham provide examples of the diverse points of view towards the poor and inferior orders that pertained then. The position of the philosophic radicals and of Bentham in particular with regard to such people is not clearly understood. One has to remember that Bentham and his associates were, in comparison with the established opinions of their time, offering a different view of society and questioning some of the most fundamental assumptions on which it was based. Hence the "radical" label. A further justification for the study is that it will help to clear up this misunderstanding by analysing Bentham's recommendations concerning the lower orders and thus place him in a truer perspective in relation to them. The aim will be to illustrate by this means those ways in which he shared what one may refer to as the "prevailing Establishment" attitudes, and to show, equally, in what ways he deviated from them. The thesis, all the while, will attempt to expose Bentham's ideas on how the education of the lower social orders should proceed.

Finally, it is suggested that the study is justified in terms of the value of the transcription of manuscript material used during its composition. Most of this material is not available in any reliable printed form: by transcribing it from Bentham's own manuscripts, and by making this material more readily intelligible and available to Bentham scholars and other interested persons a significant service will have been performed.

In summary, there exists a fourfold justification for the work. The first is that there is an important gap in the history of education that ought to be filled. The second is in the field of 19th century social history; it is to point out the importance of understanding the social class orientation as well as the philosophical basis of Bentham and philosophical radicalism. The third concerns the importance of Bentham's ideas on the education of the lower orders because of their relevance to ones own contemporary attitudes. The fourth is that of an original and needed contribution to scholarship in making available important historical material which has always been difficult of access.

The scope of this study is confined to an examination of Bentham's ideas on the education of the lower social orders. Mention has already been made of the fact that Bentham has been largely ignored vis a vis his ideas on education, despite the centrality of these to his philosophical position. Where, however, mention has been made it is always to his Chrestomathic project which was to be a decidedly middle class facility. If, therefore, redress is to be made it seems more opportune to deal with his ideas on the education of the largest segment of society, the lower orders, whose affairs form a recurring part of his written work.

The exclusion of the middle classes and their education accounts also for the exclusion of higher education from the study, in particular, the absence of any consideration of Bentham's ideas on university education and the part he played in the founding of the new London University.

The adoption of an approach based on social class divisions has ruled out a chronological approach which would have concentrated on a period of, for example, ten years, and examined the whole of Bentham's educational ideas within that period. This latter approach was rejected because it increased the dangers of distortion and because it would not, in this case, have reduced the scope of the study to more manageable proportions. The mass of Bentham's manuscripts which deal specifically with education were written between 1810 and 1820. This, then, would have been the obvious decade to choose. The period includes, for example, The Essay on Logic (1811-1816), Panopticon versus New South Wales (1812), Ontology (1813-1821), Deontology (1814-1831), as well as the bulk of Bentham's critical writings on the Church of England, and of course, the sizeable Chrestomathia (1817). But Bentham lived to an advanced age and he worked continually until the time that he died. In respect to prisons, poor laws, and schooling, his thought changed quite markedly from time to time. It is essential, therefore, to undertake a longitudinal study in order to take account of such changes. The choice of a social class orientation to this longitudinal approach is particularly appropriate since the notion of class and its function in society was an important one for the philosophical radicals.

One further delimitation ought to be mentioned at this point. No attempt at any sort of consideration of the validity or otherwise of Bentham's philosophy has been made. The question of the validity of the Principle of Utility is wholly outside the scope of this work. Valid or not, it undoubtedly was the regulator of all of Bentham's ideas and it has been in this light that it was approached in the study.

Bentham held a very broad view of what constituted education, and the process of schooling is one part of that. That view of education is closely bound up with his ideas on the nature and purpose of government, the functions of the legislator and lawyer, and indeed with his ideas on economics. In considering the literature which is related to or has some bearing upon the subject of education, one has to bear in mind that almost everything that has been written on Bentham ought therefore to come into this category. To consider in detail all that material is not possible; there is simply too much of it. Mention should be made, however, of the works which are of central importance, as well as some articles which bear most directly upon the theme.

There are a number of published works which have been found to be useful because of their treatment of the utilitarian movement. Foremost among these is E. Halevy's The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism (London, 1928). This work is regarded as the "standard authority" in the field: an opinion which one would not wish to dispute. It contains a careful analysis of Bentham's philosophical antecedents and is, as its title indicates, a study of the ways in which philosophic radicalism grew to be a major force in the nineteenth century. The work does not, however, deal specifically with the poor and the education accorded to them.

The other work which would generally be regarded as a standard reference for all students of Bentham is Lesley Stephen's The English Utilitarians (3 volumes, London, 1900). These volumes are valuable for the understanding they show of Bentham and his fellow radicals, but after nearly eighty years some fresh insights are desirable, the more so since Stephen's volumes largely ignore the question of education in the context in which this study attempts to place it.

Of more recent vintage is W.L. Stark's three volumes on The Economic Writings of Jeremy Bentham (London, 1952). These present in an eminently readable and reliable form Bentham's texts on economic matters. They are particularly valuable when dealing with the subjects of the colonies, and population control, but again they do not concern themselves with education.

Finally, there are two lengthy articles which ought to be mentioned; both are by Gertrude Himmelfarb. The first is "The Haunted House of Jeremy Bentham" on the subject of the Panopticon. The second is "Bentham's Utopia: The National Charity Company". Details of both of these are to be found in the bibliography included with this work. They both provide useful information on aspects of Bentham's schemes. Since the Panopticon and National Charity Company schemes form the subjects of two important chapters of this work, these must be seen as duplicating to some extent the scope of this study. The extent to which they do this is not serious, and for three reasons. The first is that in Dr. Himmelfarb's works very little is said which relates the schemes to Bentham's overall position with regard to education; for example, the fact that both the Panopticon and Charity Company schemes had serious educational aspects goes almost entirely by default. The second is that her analysis of Bentham's motives may be thought to be inadequate; the grounds for this conclusion will become clear in the appropriate chapters. The third is that Dr. Himmelfarb has relied very largely on non-manuscript sources; in her article on the National Charity Company over two thirds of the references to primary source material are to the Works, and only one third to Bentham's own manuscripts. What has been attempted in this study is to work to a far greater extent from original manuscript material.

The matter of locating the original Bentham manuscripts is comparatively straightforward. With the exception of some correspondence which is in the possession of the Shelburne family because of Bentham's association with the former Prime Minister of that name, the mass of the manuscripts is in the Library of University College, London, at the British Museum, and in the Dumont Collection at the University of Geneva. The British Museum collection consists largely of correspondence. The rest of the letters and the manuscripts of most of Bentham's major works are deposited in boxes at University College, as indeed, is Bentham himself. There is an excellent catalogue of the University College manuscripts which was prepared in 1962 by A. Taylor-Milne and published as The Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Jeremy Bentham in the Library of University

College. The manuscripts are lodged at University College out of respect for Bentham's connection with the founding of that institution. For the same reason Bentham's auto-icon is placed there. The difficulties associated with deciphering the manuscripts, together with their bulk, are the major obstacles to their use by scholars. Bentham's handwriting is extremely difficult to read. In addition, not all of the manuscripts are completely in his handwriting.

In view of the state of both the manuscript sources and of printed versions of Bentham's works, it was felt necessary to transcribe in full the major part of the Bentham manuscripts which had a bearing on the subject. The exceptions to this were the economic writings which are available, thanks to the scholarship of Dr. Stark, in an excellent printed version, and much of the Correspondence, Of Laws in General, and An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation which also may be read thanks to Professor Burns and his editorial colleagues.

Apart from the collections of original manuscripts, the only complete edition of Bentham's works is that prepared by John Bowring and published in eleven volumes in 1843. Sadly, this edition is not at all complete, and is unattractively presented in small print in double columns. In addition, it is frequently inaccurate and contains a poor biography of Bentham. This latter is the greater tragedy when one considers the unique opportunity that Bowring had in the form of his close association with Bentham over a considerable number of years. The omissions from the complete works are in part the fault of Bowring. Bentham became an increasingly bitter critic of the Church of England and composed several pamphlets which gave vent to his criticism. The most important of these are Church of England-ism and Its Catechism Examined (1824), Not Paul But Jesus (published in 1824 under the pseudonym of Gamaliel Smith because of the fear of action that would ensue should the identity of the true author become known), and Analysis of the Influence of Natural Religion on the Temporal Happiness of Mankind (1822). This also was published under a pseudonym, this time Philip Beauchamp, for the same reason. Bowring was a strong supporter of the Church of England and when he came to edit the complete works, he declined to include these critical works in it. Other major works were left out for varying reasons. For example, Deontology was omitted because of the difficulties of editing such diffuse manuscripts written over an extended period of time. Of Laws in General was also omitted for though it had been written in 1782, it remained unknown and in manuscript form only, until it was rediscovered by Professor Everett in 1939.

Aware of the deficiencies in this field a National

Committee was set up in 1959 under the auspices of University College. Its objective was to publish a definitive edition of Bentham's works and correspondence in cooperation with the Athlone Press of London University. It is anticipated that the series will consist of thirty-eight volumes (six of correspondence, four of Principles of Legislation, three of penology and criminal law, one of civil law, four of constitutional law, three of political writings, six of judicial procedure, three of economics, four of philosophy and education, and four of religion and the church). They will be published over a period of years. To date, five volumes have been published: The Corresondence, volumes I and II (1752-1780), published in 1968, edited by T.L.S. Sprigge, the Correspondence, volume III (1781-1788), edited by I. Christie, published in 1971, An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation, edited by J.H. Burns and H.L.A. Hart, published in 1970, and Of Laws in General, edited by H.L.A. Hart and published in 1970. The General Editor for the whole series is Professor J.H. Burns. The volumes issued so far are handsomely bound and attractively presented, and bode well for the future of the series.

The volumes of correspondence contain Bentham's letters sent to a wide variety of people ranging from his own father to the Empress Catherine. All are presented in their original form and language.

The manuscript material was read first in London and photo-copies and/or microfilm of all the relevant documents were obtained. Because of Bentham's handwriting and because he added comments occasionally in pencil, it was first necessary to transcribe in full most of the manuscripts. The only exceptions to this were those papers which dealt with aspects outside the scope of this study or where there were several copies of the same material. In the latter case the copies had to be checked against each other for changes or alterations that may have been made. Quite frequently Bentham gave several alternative wordings in his manuscripts; where this occurred, those meanings were chosen which appeared to make the most sense or which were more appealing to the ear. It was frequently desirable to quote passages from the manuscripts: in this case the manuscripts are identified according to their location either in the Library of University College, London, or the British Library.

The only other source of original material that is available are the printed versions of Bentham's work on the poor, mainly his National Chairty Company scheme, which appeared in The Annals of Agriculture which was edited by Arthur Young. Here it was necessary to check for changes or differences between it and Bentham's own manuscripts. Copies of The Annals are scarce. In this case a researcher was employed to go through the copies in the British Library and locate Bentham's contributions. Photo-copies were then taken of all of these from the volumes of The Annals which are located in the Library of the State of Maine at Augusta, Maine.

In conclusion it remains only to emphasise the contribution it is anticipated this thesis will make in rectifying an omission in the history of education. The contribution made to education by Jeremy Bentham has been neglected whilst attention has been diverted instead to his contributions to the law and philosophy. In succeeding chapters it is hoped to make amends for this remissness, beginning with the historical background to the period.

Introduction: Footnotes

1. Thomson, D. England in the Nineteenth Century. London, 1966, p. 30.
2. Watson, J.S. The Reign of George III, 1760-1815. Oxford, 1960, p. 331.
3. Mill, J.S. Essay on Bentham. Ed. & Intro. F.R. Leavis, N.Y., 1950, p. 42.
4. Ibid., p. 98.
5. Adamson, J.W. A Short History of Education. Cambridge, 1969.
6. Armytage, W.H.G. Four Hundred Years of English Education. Cambridge, 1970.
7. Barnard, H.C. A History of English Education From 1760. London, 1961.
8. Curtis, S.J. and Boultwood, M.E.A. A Short History of Educational Ideas. London, 1953.
9. Jarman, T.L. Landmarks in the History of Education. London, 1963.
10. Murphy, J. Church, State and Schools in Britain, 1800-1970. London, 1971.
11. Stewart, W.A.C. Progressives and Radicals in English Education, 1750-1970. London, 1972.
12. Silver, H. The Concept of Popular Education. London, 1965.
13. Black, H., Lottich, K.V., and Seckinger, D.S. The Great Educators: Readings for Leaders in Education. N.Y., 1974.
14. Judges, A.V. Pioneers of English Education. London, 1952.

Chapter 2

JEREMY BENTHAM:

HIS LIFE, HIS AGE, ITS PROBLEMS

> (Jeremy Bentham)...the arch-philistine ...the insipid leather tongued oracle of the commonplace bourgeois intelligence...a genius in the way of bourgeois stupidity.
>
> Karl Marx

> Jeremy Bentham, the most philanthropic of the philanthropic: philanthropy, the end and instrument of his ambition. Limits it has no other than those of the earth.
>
> Jeremy Bentham

Jeremy Bentham was born in Red Lion Street, Hounsditch, on 15th February 1748. His father entertained the most ambitious plans for his first child who early showed considerable intellectual promise. Jeremiah Bentham strongly believed in the power of education as a means to attain money and power, both of which he coveted. In order to ensure these for his son he decided that his education should be both technical and social, the first to provide the means to this end, the second to provide the necessary social contacts. His own legal background predisposed him towards the law as a profession for his son and with this aim in view he began the education of his son, Jeremy.

By the time he was five years old, Bentham had already demonstrated considerable talents for Latin and Greek (this is somewhat ironic in view of his later views on these subjects), and also for music and French. At age seven he was sent to Westminster School and when only twelve to Queens College, Oxford, to be educated and to form high connections. At both of these institutions Bentham was miserable. Timid, shy, and small of stature, he felt quite out of place in the raucus, lecherous, anti-intellectual atmosphere of eighteenth century Oxford. Not only was he ridiculously young but he was much affected by the recent death of his mother of whom he was very fond and who had done much to lessen the rigours of family life at 2 Queens Square Place, Westminster, London. Bowring paints a wry picture of Oxford life and of

Bentham's performance in it;[1] the curious stares of the passers by at this near dwarf, the Hell-Fire Club whose members used to besport themselves in the nude before a big fire, the profligacy of the tutors, the violence, the drinking, and the pretence of teaching. But it was during his Oxford years that Bentham developed an earlier interest in Locke and found a new outlet for his inquiring mind in chemistry and natural philosophy.

In 1763 Bentham attended Blackstone's lectures and received his Bachelor of Arts degree at the tender age of sixteen years. The former provided much of the material for Bentham's celebrated Fragment on Government, his first major work and one which brought instant recognition for its author when it was published in 1776. In the nine years after his graduation Bentham, now a Master of Arts, read Montesquieu, Hume, Priestley, Hartley, Beccaria and Helvetius where he first encountered a mention of a principle called utility. These years also saw his admission to Lincoln's Inn, his first visit abroad, with his father, to Paris, a second visit on his own in 1770, and the launching of his active interest in politics.

By the time he was twenty-four, Bentham had already developed many of the personal characteristics which were to distinguish his future lifestyle. He had few friends. His physical frailty cloaked a robust constitution and a passion for work. His open contempt for the law "as it is" (developed as a result of hearing Blackstone) excluded him from contact with his fellow lawyers and brought him into conflict with his father, who retaliated by keeping his dependent son constantly short of money.

In the decade after 1772 Bentham occupied himself with a variety of concerns. The first of these was the education of his younger brother, Samuel. The second was occasioned by a visit to Whitchurch, in Hampshire, in 1774. Here he became interested in a Commentary by his friend Lind on Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England. Inspired by Lind's views, but taken aback by what he regarded as some of their shortcomings, he wrote his own Introduction in 1775. This later became the Fragment on Government, his first book which was published anonymously in 1776. The publication of this work created a considerable stir and much speculation as to its authorship. Paley was generally suspected. The truth, when it leaked out, made of Bentham a considerable celebrity and did much to heal the breach with his father who sensed that, at last, his son was on the verge of attaining precisely those ambitions for which he had begun to prepare him twenty-eight years before. This period of Bentham's life also saw the writing of the Theory of Punishment (1775), and his View of the Hard Labour Bill (1778), which are evidence that by this time Bentham had developed into a practical and compassionate philosopher about to embark on his life's work - a task that was to occupy him for the next fifty-five years - that of reforming the law.

A major happening in this period was Bentham's recognition in 1781 by Lord Shelbourne who had been impressed by Bentham's Fragment on Government as an attack on his enemy Blackstone, and who was on the lookout for able propagandists in his campaign against the government. On the strength of this he invited Bentham to both his London home and to Bowood Castle, the family seat in Hampshire. This was for Bentham a most valuable connection. At Bowood, Bentham met Pitt, with whom he did not get on well, and Romilly and Dumont with whom he did. It afforded him the opportunity and encouragement to begin work on his single most important work An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation. It also introduced him to fashionable society and its occupations, and for the first time he fell in love.

In many respects the year 1782 provides an excellent point at which to survey Bentham's early life. It was just prior to his period of extended residence abroad, in Russia. His reputation as a critic of the law "as it is" and as a jurisprudentor was already established at home. His opinions were already essentially formed and the basis of his life's work, An Introduction to the Principals of Morals and Legislation, with its emphasis on the Principle of Utility, was already written. He had several major works, An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation, the Fragment on Government, the Theory of Punishments, and the View of the Hard Labour Bill behind him. The analytical mind capable of probing the fundamental problems of society had already matured. He was also cognizant of the need to reform society and its laws, to transform them from what they were to what he considered they ought to be. What is more, he was eager to begin that great task.

In the years after 1778, Bentham continued under the patronage of Lord Shelbourne, and his reputation abroad flourished whilst it expanded modestly at home. He developed during this time his prodigious work habits, the main characteristic of which was a long and full working day.

In 1785 he took his longest and most extensive journey abroad. This was a visit to his brother, Samuel, who had accepted a commission from Prince Potemkin to help him industrialize White Russia after the English manner. Bentham spent a profitable three years in Russia, writing the Defence of Usury and beginning work on his major project, the Panopticon, which was to dominate his thoughts for the next two decades. In 1788 he returned from Russia, and in the period between then and 1800 he wrote copiously. It was at this time that An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation was published. He also wrote on economics, the poor and their concerns, and the colonies. Perhaps the most impressive work of that decade was his scheme to revise the poor laws and their administration. This was published in 1797 and 1798 under the title of An Outline of Pauper Management Improved in Arthur Young's The [illegible]als of Agriculture and other Useful Arts. In 1795, along with such unlikely companions as Tom Paine and Wilberforce, he had been made an honorary citizen of the new French Republic in recognition of his work on constitutional reform. Apart from concerns associated with his writings, the major happening at this time was the death of his father in 1792. This made a considerable financial difference to Bentham, for not only did it free him from the control of an over careful parent, but it also brought a considerable inheritance and consequent total independence thenceforth.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century Bentham continued to write, now mainly on the law. It was a period which began sadly as Bentham came to accept that there would not, after nearly twenty years of planning, begging, and cajoling, be a Panopticon.[2] But it did improve. He rented, on the strength of his new financial independence, a large house at Barrow Green, near Oxford, in 1807. He returned annually there for several years to garden, to write, and to entertain his friends, particularly James Mill whom he had met in 1808. Intellectually one can discern the beginning of the long process towards radicalism. At this time Bentham considered emigrating to South America, ostensibly for reasons of his health (which was, and which remained, quite robust), but more likely because he scented that struggles for independence there would provide no end of opportunities for codes of laws and constitutions - in the providing of which had had come to specialise. By the end of this decade one can, too, notice the beginning of a deterioration in his literary style which had, up to that point, been, if not exemplary, at least acceptable. Now his habit of inventing a whole new and unfamiliar vocabulary to express his thoughts ran wild, and his sentences became increasingly lengthy and complex.

After 1812 Bentham continued to work steadily on a number of different projects simultaneously: prisons, parliamentary reform, and the evils of the Church of England and the King, in particular. In the twenty years after 1812 Bentham completed a number of major works on these themes. The most significant of these are the Book of Fallacies (1821), Panopticon and New South Wales (1812), Ontology (1813-21), Deontology (1814-31), and the Constitutional Code (1822-1830). In 1813 he finally received the long promised compensation for Panopticon and on the basis of that made what may well have been his only sound financial investment, in Robert Owen's scheme at New Lanark. Also, in the light of his new wealth (the compensation for Panopticon was somewhere in the neighborhood of ₤25,000) he rented Ford Abbey, a handsome and ancient country home magnificently appointed and located in spacious grounds in Somerset. Here he gardened, began work on Chrestomathia, continued his campaign against the Church of England and its bishops, played battledore and shuttlecock, continued to entertain Mill and his family, and paid for the privilege of all this ₤315 per annum.

In 1819 Bentham gave up Ford Abbey for good and returned to his house in Queen's Square Place in Westminster. He rarely quitted it thereafter. So began a strict and relatively spartan regime which continued until his death fourteen years later. He worked all day, permitted himself exercise in his garden which he circumgirated at something between a walk and a trot, and received hardly anybody who was not a member of his intimate circle consisting of the Mills (father and son), Romilly, Bowring, and Place. This almost hermit-like existence has curiously given rise to two of the very few anecdotes that are told of Bentham: his refusals to see either Richard Lovell Edgeworth or Madame de Stael. The former was informed that his wish to see Mr. Bentham was not reciprocated, and the latter vowed that she would see nobody else in London until she had met Mr. Bentham. Bentham's comment was that in that case she would have a very solitary visit. Bentham himself provided a concise picture of his daily routine in a letter to Mr. W. Thompson, of Cork, who had written to consult him on the matter of establishing a Chrestomathic school in that city. In return, Mr. Thompson was accorded the rare honour of an invitation to the hermitage (always referred to as Q.S.P. in correspondence) and the following picture of daily life there:

29th Sept. 1819

> During your stay in London, my hermitage, such as it is, is at your service, and you will be expected in it. I am a single man, turned of seventy; but as far from melancholy as a man need be. Hour of dinner, six;

> tea, between nine and ten; bed, a quarter before eleven. Dinner and tea in society; breakfast, my guests, whoever they are, have at their own hour, and by themselves; my breakfast, of which a newspaper, read to me to save my weak eyes, forms an indispensable part, I take by myself. Wine I drink none, being, in that particular, of the persuasion of Jonadab the son of Rechab. At dinner, soup as constantly as if I were a Frenchman, an article of my religion learnt in France: meat, one or two sorts, as it may happen; ditto sweet things, of which, with the soup, the principal part of my dinner is composed. Of the dessert, the frugality matching with that of the dinner. Coffee for any one that chooses it.[3]

The last twelve years of his life were spent by Bentham in unremitting industry transmitted to posterity in the form of increasingly illegible but numerically impressive manuscripts. During this time Bentham founded The Westminster Review as a vehicle to promote the Principle of Utility, corresponded with notables including Bolivar, the Emperor Alexander, John Quincy Adams, Lord Sidmouth, the Duke of Wellington, and Daniel O'Connell, and he made one last sally forth from Queen's Square Place to Paris where he was given an enraptured reception by the National Assembly.

Although Bentham's almost hermit-like existence did not permit ready access to him he was always available to his friends and collaborators. Indeed, most of his works were circulated amongst them in manuscript form before being published, and many of the works might never have been published at all had it not been for the pressure exerted on Bentham by his friends. James Mill, John Stuart Mill and John

Bowring, a city merchant and economist, were Bentham's most intimate friends but around him there formed, sometimes with his blessing and sometimes without it, a larger group committed to a consistent programme of reform and which constituted, in effect, a reform party. This group consisted of Francis Place, Samuel Romilly, Edwin Chadwick, Joseph Hume and George Grote, all of them influential in English public life in the years after Bentham's death and all of them committed to a programme of reform which was to affect in profound ways the lot of the poor. The programme included a reform of the foundations of jurisprudence, the administration of the poor laws, prison reform, a radical economic policy, a wider concept of education and a greater appreciation of its potential, together with reforms designed to enable the people to lead physically healthier lives.

Bentham continued to work steadily and unremittingly until the day before he died. Ironically, perhaps, one of his last schemes, in 1831, was to revise an idea which he had had in mind for some considerable time. This was the Auto-Icon, or the Uses of the Dead to the Living by which a corpse, embalmed, would enable a man to be his own statue. If a country gentleman had a row of trees leading up to his house, suggested Bentham, the auto-icons of the members of his family might alternate with the trees, and varnish would protect the faces of the figures from the effects of rain.

Jeremy Bentham died on 6th June 1832, one day before the Reform Bill (which by his life's work he had done so much to bring about), passed through the House of Commons and became law. He had lived through a period of rapid change and the England of his old age was very different in many respects from the England of his youth. Bentham had been in both the physical and intellectual sense at the very center of much of this change. Intellectually, he was directly concerned with many of the issues which were giving birth to the fundamental changes. If he did not always raise such issues himself, he invariably reacted to them when others did. He was a life-long resident of the Borough of Westminster, the centre of the greater part of the radical political activity of those times and the home of the Parliament which attracted so much of his attention over the greater part of his nearly eight-four years. What then were the changes and events which constituted so important a back-drop to Bentham's activities?

The most far reaching changes were those associated with the agrarian and industrial revolutions. In the former connection the large scale movement towards the enclosure of land, the experimental farming methods associated with Thomas Coke and Viscount Townshend, the development of new strains of animals, and the benevolent interest of King George III combined to transform rural society from an homogeneous and relatively closely knit one into one that was more fluid. In many respects the changes were beneficial, but they also meant that for large numbers of people hitherto dependent on agriculture, there was no alternative but to move into the rapidly expanding towns. Such towns facilitated the growth of greater concentrations of people. They promoted, and were themselves the products of, different modes of transportation. They provided scope for the inventive genius of Crompton, Arkwright, Cartwright, the Darbys, Cort, Carron, Wilkinson, Watt and Wedgewood. In accommodating the factory system of production they encouraged a totally new scale of industrial organisation. Together, the changes in industry and agriculture could not fail to increase the stresses in society and call into question the sufficiency of traditional attitudes to the old problems of society.

In politics, Pitt, Fox, Burke, Wilkes, Liverpool, Sidmouth and Castlereagh dominated the scene, whilst the Gordon Riots, the Corresponding Societies, Peterloo, Ireland, Reform, and Tolpuddle, all flitted momentarily across the scene. Abroad, the French Revolution, Napoleon, wars from one end of Europe to the other, and the acquisition of half the world as colonies, and the loss of those in America provided a continuing source of inspiration for Bentham's genius.

The eighteenth century has been represented as both the Age of Enlightenment and the Age of Optimism. There was certainly abroad a spirit of inquiry and a confidence by men in their own ability to overcome, through the scientific application of their knowledge and by the exploitation of their new technology, the problems which confronted them.

Nevertheless, this widespread belief in progress should not be allowed to hide the very real problems which existed in other fields. Despite the self-satisfied comments of the Lord Chief Justice the state of both the civil and the criminal law in England was in a state of chaos. The undue severity which characterised the former and the inconsistency which particularised the latter brought Bentham, himself a lawyer, to a state of open contempt for the legal system and those who practised it. The strained economy of the country had been unable to adjust yet to the demands placed upon it by rapid commercialisation and industrialisation, and few men except for Bentham, Ricardo and Smith seemed to have any idea as to where to start the painful process of adjustment. The notions of liberty, equality and fraternity which wafted across the English Channel from France and across the Atlantic Ocean from America found a sympathetic hearing in some quarters of English society. At the same time the political activity of the hitherto apolitical English working classes increased dramatically and became increasingly radical. As it did so, it made more obvious the visible gulf between the extravagance and excesses of the king's sons and the miserable conditions under which many of his loyal subjects were obliged to exist. The resulting political instability was profound and was matched only by increasing government repression, culminating in Peterloo. Even religion, normally the most dependable of all the cements of the masses, failed here to perform its customary function. The increasing remoteness of the Church of England from the mass of its urbanised faithful led to accusations by Bentham and others of indifference, exclusionism and open corruption. All these problems were connected with and bore particularly harshly upon the growing numbers of the poor. The overcrowded living conditions in the hastily built and rapidly expanding cities of the emerging industrial regions together with the total disregard for sanitation and the absence of adequate drains created an obvious health hazard in an age when it was still common practice to dump ordure and household refuse in the street. When is added to this the general ignorance of hygiene, both personal and domestic, and when in any case the facilities for its practice were absent, the danger of epidemics and disease was ever present. Neither was overcrowding confined only to housing. For those unfortunates consigned to gaol, not difficult to achieve when so many petty crimes carried prison sentences and worse, domestic overcrowding was compounded by penitentiary. The result was that the prisons became effective seminaries for the dissemination of all forms of vice and disease.

Altogether the plight of the poor was indeed deplorable and Bentham spent most of his life attempting to prescribe a suitable remedy. Bentham's preoccupation with the poor was shared by nearly all his contemporaries. Clearly the poor constituted a threat to the stability of society itself.

Faith, hope and charity are linked in more than the biblical sense. For the poor there was very little expectation of any of these. The relief of indigence was carried on in an ad hoc manner that varied considerably from place to place both as to the extent and nature of the relief afforded. To many contemporary observers, however, amongst whom was Bentham, it seemed that the numbers of both the indigent and the working poor were consistently on the increase and that this was matched by the lavishness of the provision of that relief. Education appeared to some, Bentham included, as a palliative to this distress and yet the provision of suitable schools and other institutions where such a process was customarily carried on was woefully inadequate. These problem areas became particularly important when it was perceived, again by Bentham, that their significance and their incidence were in direct proportion to the ignorance of the poor. It was Bentham's belief, and one that was shared by many of his contemporaries, that the moral weaknesses of the poor, their predilection for all forms of vice and criminality, their general improvidence, their excessive and unnecessary fertility, their delight in cruelty, and their preference for strong drink were due to their ignorance of their own condition and their lack of awareness as to how to control the factors that regulated their own lives. Their increasing tendency to violence posed a distinct threat to the security of property on which basis all of civilized society depended.

Viewed in retrospect, the greater part of Bentham's long life was spent in tackling the major problems of his age - political instability, crime, pauperism, the fluctuations of the economic system, ignorance of health matters, and over-population. All of these were connected with the poor and their conduct. For Bentham, however, unlike his fellows, the poor constituted a problem which he had to attempt to solve. His humanitarianism would not allow him to slough off the problem. The only type of solution that was acceptable was one which conformed resolutely to the Principle of Utility.

The task of formulating acceptable solutions to the problems of the age was difficult enough. For Bentham it was made even more so by the distressing and unfortunate moral weaknesses to which the poor seemed particularly prone. For despite his obvious sympathy for the poor he was certainly no romantic and had no illusions whatever concerning their character. The ignorance and idleness of the poor rated highly on any list of failings: he wrote of them

> In the ordinary state of things among the Poor labouring classes, under the eye of the natural Parent, where there is one, the mind of the child passes wholly without culture.
>
> This is more particularly the case with the male sex. Till the commencement of the age of manly vigour a boy of this class does

> nothing. Idleness is his first lesson, and this lesson (reckoning from 4 years old the age of commencing ability) fills up the measure of 8 or 10 years.[4]

Such idleness was the direct result of ignorance, and from idleness sprang all the other moral deficiencies which vitiated the life of the poor. This view of the poor was one shared by the majority of Bentham's contemporaries. What marked Jeremy Bentham off from them was his insistence that all vices were curable provided the correct treatment was administered. He shared, in fact, Colquhoun's views, who in 1806, agreed that education, whilst never designed to "elevate them (the poor) above the rank they are destined to hold in society", would

> give their minds a right bias, a strong sense of religion and moral honesty; a horror of vice, and a love of virtue, sobriety and industry; a disposition to be satisfied with their lot; and a proper sense of loyalty and subordination.[5]

In 1798 Thomas Malthus published his influential Essay on the Principle of Population as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society. This formulation of the notion that human hopes for happiness are destined to fail due to the fact that population will increase at a faster rate than will the means of production, focussed attention on another feature of the moral weakness of the lower orders, their distressing tendency towards indiscriminate and irresponsible reproduction of their own numbers. The threat that the poor presented by virtue of their numbers is well expressed in Tennyson's poem "The Northern Farmer - New Style",

> Tisn them 'as munny as breaks into 'ouses
> an steals, Them as 'as coats to their
> backs an toaks their regular meals, Noa,
> but its them as niver knaws wheer a meal's
> to be 'ad, Taake my word for it, Sammy,
> the poor in a loomp is bad.

The tendency towards loomps of an ever increasing size was infinitely regrettable. The existence of an already numerically large and constantly increasing and largely uneducated lower class thus brought home to the middle classes in particular the pressing nature of the problem that faced them; it was a problem that was fast developing into a real threat.

There are yet two other ways in which the poor constituted a problem and a threat; they were a danger to middle class property, and they demonstrated some appalling moral deficiencies.

The notion of property, the sacredness of ownership of it, is an essential element in middle class thought. Without property the middle class was nothing; the possession of it was what distinguished them from their social inferiors. It was what primarily signalled to others their collective ascent from poverty to affluence. The idea that anybody should take away their property by violent means and without their consent, filled them with real alarm. This regard for property was certainly shared by Bentham as the following excerpts indicate

> Property and the law are born and must die together. Before the laws, there was no property; take away the laws, all property ceases.

> With respect to property, security consists in no shock or derangement being given to the expectation which has been founded on the laws, of enjoying a certain portion of good,

and

> The laws in creating property have created wealth, but with respect to poverty, it is not the work of the laws - it is the primitive condition of the human race...the labour of these (the poor) is more uniform, but the reward is more certain...Hence the laws in creating property, have been benefactors to those who remain in their original poverty. They participate more or less in the pleasures, advantages, and resources of civilised society; their industry and labour place them among the candidates for fortune; they enjoy the pleasures of acquisition; hope mingles with their labours.[6]

Certainly Bentham subscribed to the belief that secure government would wring the utmost beneficial changes in society and permit the secure ownership of property which was an undoubted good. The existence of a militant and numerous class of indigent persons constituted an obvious threat to both security and to property.

The point at which Bentham's views diverged from those of many of his middle class peers was on the question of property distribution in the community. He did not accept the view that the ownership of property was a right which pertained only to the middle and upper classes in society. On the contrary. Security was the ultimate objective, but security was fragile; if, therefore, there was any conflict between security and equality, the latter must be sacrificed. In any case, perfect equality was unattainable; the best that could be hoped for was to diminish the degree of inequality. Since security of the State and the possession of property appeared to be naturally dependent, it seemed to be desirable to have property widely distributed in society with a progressive and even gradation from poverty to affluence. This was infinitely preferable to the actual state of affairs of a small class of rich property owners, and a vast army of very poor people. In a rural society the progress of manufactures tended to achieve this end, but if a hastening agent was required, Bentham had one in mind.

To interfere with the distribution of property amongst the living would diminish security, but the dead had no need of such security and it would be perfectly in order for a legislator to regulate the inheritance of property by means of death duties.[7] In this respect, Bentham's thought was both more profound and more advanced than that of his contemporaries. He was with them, however, in his determined opposition to any violent or illegal seizure of property for whatever motive. This was what he feared would happen if something was not done to alleviate in a very effective manner the condition of the indigent. His views on this are explained in his work on Pauper Education.[8] What began as a treatise on Useful Studies provided the opportunity for an airing of his views on the necessity of acting within the law in respect to property, particularly if the proposed violent redistribution of it was undertaken for reasons of political equality.

A further reason why the increasing numbers of the poor and the indigent constituted a problem and a threat was their appalling moral deficiencies which, by their profusion and degree were all too apt to drag them even deeper into an abyss, one which would end only in their total depravity and in which they would ungratefully turn on their benefactors.

Prominent among the characteristics of the poor to which Bentham pointed an accusing finger was that of what now would be thought of as fraud. He quoted numerous examples of cases where illness or other affliction was feigned in order to obtain money from the authorities. One such occasion took place at Shrewsbury where it was reported (not by Bentham) that some of the poor were pretending to be ill in order to obtain money from the parish for medicines.[9] This sort of abuse led Bentham to conclude,

> It may appear a bold but perhaps will not be found a groundless aportion that nearly one half of the money expended on the parochial poor is misapplied...; while they can have their wants supplied without labour...they will most certainly remain idle.[10]

By far the most serious cause of such moral lapses was excessive drinking and Bentham condemned this soundly. Reports of fathers of families spending the weekly wage on drink, of whole families being afflicted in this way, and of wives and families being abandoned, abound in the notes which Bentham used in preparing his scheme for improved pauper management. Such excesses he believed were due to the tendency of the poor towards fecklessness, and to the outdoor method of relief that was employed.

The degrading effects of alcoholic drinks were particularly noticeable when combined with both idleness and a want of education. Among the opulent classes, education was useful in as far as it furnished them with pleasure-giving occupations untainted with future pain and inconvenience and by "affording accomplishments and introduction to good company".[11] Unfortunately, among the lower classes, largely devoid of such education (and thus of the means of finding innocent amusements) a man will

> ...yield to the temptations afforded by amusements of a pernicious nature in so far as the means of doing so are within his reach. Among these drunkenness affords an occupation at the same time the most generally alluring and the most uniformly pernicious. With a full purse and an empty head nothing more difficult than for a man to avoid falling into the abyss of drunkenness. Hence the connection so intimate, so well known, so much and so justly lamented, between drunkenness and high wages...[12]

Thus for the middle classes the poor, particularly the indigent, constituted a threat to their own aspirations and a problem which they were obliged to confront. The poor were too numerous, their numbers were increasing too quickly, they cost too much to maintain, they were ignorant and without culture, they were a threat to security and property, and they were too prone to crime and drink. Bentham and his fellow philosophical radicals shared (though sometimes for different reasons) this concern.

It was the unique task of Bentham to question the correctness of policies being pursued in relation to the poor and the indigent and to measure such policies against both a clearly enunciated ethical principle and a demonstrated scientific and psychological theory.

The magnitude of the problems associated with the poor caused many of Bentham's contemporaries to despair at ever finding a solution to them. The increasing severity of the punishments inflicted on those convicted of transgressions against the law and the greater attention given to emigration are, perhaps evidence of this. In Bentham's case the gravity and extent of the problem served, however, to spur him on to devising solutions. The key to these solutions was the subjection of people to the right type of education in suitable institutions.

For Bentham, education consisted of the art of showing men not only where their true happiness lay, but in so forming the intelligence that they would know the order of Nature that their pleasures and pains depended on. Hence all men needed to be educated since all ought to be made happy, though it did not follow that all men had to be given the same education. Bentham's proposals for education and his interest in the field are, therefore, strongly linked to his desire to provide a solution to contemporary problems. The educational programme which emerged was consequently a comprehensive one. Education was to make all men happy; it had, therefore, to involve a significantly greater degree of government intervention. It was to make the poor happy and, above all, content with their appointed lot whilst at the same time enabling the middle classes to assume their government. Education was, in fact, to become an arm of the state, and it was at all times to be useful and practical. To consider the problem of the age was to consider the problem of the poor; to consider the problem of the poor was for Bentham to consider the problem of applying the Principle of Utility. To consider the application of the Principle of Utility was to consider the problem of education.

In his awareness of the problems of the age and his dissatisfaction with the existing state of English society, Jeremy Bentham was at one with a great number of his fellow countrymen. Indeed the ills of the country were being pointed out and commented on by such unlikely and diverse figures as Wilberforce, Horn-Tooke and William Blake. What set Jeremy Bentham apart was the systematic nature both of his diagnosis of the maladies and the treatment he proposed to apply. For not only had Bentham in his possession an ethical principle which would "resolve all moral questions with a security not far removed from mathematical demonstration"[13]; but equally important, he possessed a psychological theory which would make its application not only feasible but inevitably successful. At the heart of all of Jeremy Bentham's schemes to eradicate misery, to promote happiness, to reform society and create a new order was the Principle of Utility and the Doctrine of Associationism.

In An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation, Bentham stated that

> Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do...They govern us in all we do, in all we say, in all we think...[14]

The Principle of Utility rests upon that important and self evident truth and is an ethical principle

> which approves or disapproves of every action whatsoever, according to the tendency which it appears to have to augment or diminish the happiness of the party whose interest is in question.[15]

Provided he had received sufficient "useful" education, the individual could safely be relied upon to augment his own happiness. It was the function of the legislator to so order things that the general happiness was increased at the same time. One ought, therefore, to aim at promoting the greatest happiness both of the individual and of the greatest number of people. Indeed the principle is frequently referred to, and by Bentham himself, as the Greatest Happiness Principle. By happiness, Bentham meant

> ...the sum of the pleasures experienced during that quantity of time which is under consideration, deduction made or not made of the quantity of pain experienced during that same quantity of time.[16]

For Bentham it was to be a purely quantitative analysis. In terms of the Felicific Calculus one pleasure was as good as another.[17] The Felicific Calculus itself was a method of determining by exact calculations whether the sum total of pleasures to be derived from a proposed course of action was greater than the sum total of pains that same course would produce bearing in mind all the people who would be affected by it. This would be applied to all the alternative courses of action. Whichever one promised to produce the greatest happiness was the right course.

Much misunderstanding of Bentham arises out of a misinterpretation of the Felicific Calculus. Bentham makes it plain that the Calculus is really a convenient device for making ones calculations as accurate as the nature of the case allows. Nonetheless, it has been the source of some occasional amusement. Admittedly, the idea of the somewhat pedantic figure sitting down and making nice calculations may have its amusing aspects. But after all, one does make that sort of basic calculation in respect to a choice of alternatives. For the legislator, for whom it was primarily intended, it is a very useful rule indeed, since Bentham believed that laws existed to increase happiness.[18]

Associationism, the current psychological theory, was wholly in tune with that other cult so dear to utilitarianism, the cult of unlimited progress. If progress in the mechanical sphere was as limitless as it appeared to be to the optimistic observer in late eighteenth century England, might it not be unlimited in the intellectual sense too? This idea that the mind grew mechanically and could comprehend anything that was fed to it, had been developed by David Hartley from whom Bentham derived it. Consequently the growth of the mind depended only upon its getting enough food, and the quality of its growth could be regulated and determined by the quality of the food that was provided for it. Its functioning was as determined as its development. To Bentham, dedicated to progress, it was desirable that the human mind should progress when everything else in society was progressing too, and particularly when such progress held out the likelihood of such desirable improvements in the conduct, behaviour, and way of life of the mass of humanity.

In order to be fully effective, however, the process had to be carried on systematically and consistently. In order to improve the poor it therefore became necessary to exercise the maximum of control both over them and their environment. It was for this reason that Bentham's solutions to the problem of the poor were institutional in nature. For only by erecting specialised institutions and confining the poor in them could the required measure of control be attained.

By 1778, then, Bentham had come to the realisation that it was only through the consistent application of the Principle of Utility in conjunction with associationist psychology that he would be able to solve those social problems which he had identified and which bore heavily on the poor as being both the most numerous class in society and that which stood most in need of help from its better educated social superiors.

The severely practical nature of the education which Bentham proposed for all classes of society made it a ready target for his detractors, among whom were Peacock and Dickens. The latter made play with Bentham's insistence on the severely useful nature that education ought to have and in so doing gave to fiction a character, in Mr. Choakumchild, who has come to be thought of as the embodiment of utilitarian ideas. In Hard Times, in particular, Dickens accused the utilitarians of concentrating on the teaching of useful subjects to the detriment of the development of the emotions. He wrote:

> Herein lay the spring of the mechanical art and mystery of educating the reason without stooping to the cultivation of the sentiments and affections. Never wonder. By means of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, settle everything somehow, and never wonder. Bring to me, says M'Choakumchild, yonder baby just able to walk, and I will engage that it shall never wonder.[18]

In his book Crotchet Castle, Peacock was even more to the point in his remarks.[20]

What such critics failed to note was the intimate connection between practicality, ridding the world of misery, and increasing happiness.

In this respect Bentham was not seeking to promote perfect happiness. Naive though he was in many ways, he realized that that was impossible to achieve:

> Perfect happiness belongs to the imaginary regions of philosophy, and must be classed

> with the universal elixir and the philosophers stone. In the age of greatest perfection, fire will burn, tempests will rage, man will be subject to infirmity, to accidents, and to death.[21]

Not even the "plastic power" of education was sufficient to overcome this.

In this respect the power which Bentham ascribed to education fell somewhat short of the perception of it held by some of his intellectual precursors and contemporaries, Helvetius, Condorcet and Robert Owen, for example. Nonetheless, he believed it to be a very potent influence indeed. Education would help in the pursuit of happiness by enabling men to appreciate what their better interests were. This was particularly relevant to the young. For them the important thing was to "rationalise" and "civilise" the collection of appetites which they possessed. Ever-widening moral feelings and intellectual imagination, together with vastly improved social conditions, would hopefully achieve this.

Jeremy Bentham believed that the aim of education was to promote the general welfare and increase the happiness of all members of society. Moreover, in his view

> In the account of happiness, that of one man is equal to another. In the eye of the philosopher and in the eye of the philanthropist all men are equal.[22]

However, his views on education had an obvious social class orientation in at least two important respects. The first felt it desirable to extend the power and influence of the middle classes. Secondly, by extension, he felt it important to contain the lower classes. Implicit in this reasoning was the notion that the division of society into classes was a just and natural thing. Each class had a relationship to each of the others and a consequent role to play in society. Since education was to make people happy it had to facilitate their functioning in their appointed role. Thus, whilst all had to be educated it did not at all follow that they had to be educated in the same way. In fact, the very opposite was true; Bentham was a radical, but he was not a leveller. The education of the middle classes was to make them happier by preparing them for a greater share in government. But what it was not designed to do was to make them into aristocrats. They were, and most would remain, members of the middle classes. Similarly, if the education that was given to the poor was designed to promote their upward social mobility, then it would threaten security, one of the four means/ends of government. Their education, then, was to make them happy by increasing their knowledge of their own better interests. It had little to do with abstract notions of liberty or equality.

Neither should one overlook the position of the Church in this respect. The connection between what Gibbon referred to as the "altar and the throne" had always been a close and sometimes a formal one. Not so the relationship between the middle classes and the Church. Individual members of the middle classes had been devout and some were responsible for the degree of magnificence of many of the chantry chapels throughout England. But whilst such people may have been devout, as a class they lacked that almost formal relationship with the Church of England which the aristocracy had and which had been foisted on the poor. The utilitarians, and certainly Bentham, felt that this connection between the Church and education was bad, and amongst their concerns was a desire to promote the practical and moral advantages of secular education. Henceforth, education would be integrated with the economy not with religion.

If the Principle of Utility was to be applied to the field of education in order to ensure that it achieved the desired end it was essential that it be applied to the matter of the content of what ought to be taught.

In his manuscripts Bentham is clearly in favour of utility being applied as the major determinant of content. It was a sentiment which he also expressed in brief form in his contribution to the Annals of Agriculture,[23] though the Poor Law papers have a more detailed version of his comments which he couched in the following manner.

> In the selection of intellectual pursuits and occupations utility and not usage ought to be the guide.
>
> In this way as in every other, utility points out as desirable one or other of four objects: viz I Present exemption from pain, 2 - Present pleasure, 3 - Future exemption from pain, 4 - Future pleasure.

> In comparison of the exercises of the body the exercises of the mind lie under a signal disadvantage. The exercise of the body may from the first be made to receive into its composition a dose of present pleasure; and by its subserviency to health, so long as it is not excessive, it acts of course as an instrument of defence and exemption against pain. Exercise of the mind for a long time is in a manner incapable of affording any sensation of the pleasurable kind; it affords no exemption from present pain; on the contrary pain and pain only is for a long time the condition it affords: During a certain period, and that inevitably a long one every thing of literary instruction every thing of intellectual occupation, is a continued sacrifice of the present to the future.[24]

But the usefulness of particular content is to a great extent determined by pressing social needs. As far as the lower classes are concerned this meant that they should be taught skills which could be used to earn a living, and they should be educated to moral and prudent behaviour. All of this is consistent with the Greatest Happiness Principle. They should be taught that they could be as happy in their present situation as in any other. Their education should attempt to

> ...create capacities for happiness by forming tastes with the corresponding powers of gratification.[25]

To educate them to such an extent and in such a way as to encourage ambitions which could not be satisfied would be to render them unhappy. It was for these reasons that Bentham was a supporter of both the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and the Mechanics Institutes. Even the list of subjects to be taught in the Chrestomathic School[26] was compiled with this criterion in mind.

In order for the education (by which the poor were to be improved) to be successful, it had to be administered under the right circumstances lest external and alien forces should counteract it. It meant, in essence, that the environment in which the poor functioned had to be controlled. The easiest way in which to regulate their environment was to create special institutions for that purpose. It was with this end in mind that Bentham proceeded to design Houses of Industry, prisons, and schools, and to conceive a variety of less formal instructional agencies. An examination of each of these will be the subject of succeeding chapters of this work.

Footnotes to Chapter Two

1. Bentham, J. Works, Vol. X, ed. J. Bowring, pp. 36-45.
2. The Panopticon was Bentham's great scheme for penal reform; it is discussed in Chapter Four.
3. Bentham, J. Works, X, p. 507.
4. Bentham, J. UCL, CIIIa, 95.
5. Hollis, P. (ed.). Class and Conflict, 19th Century England, 1815-1850, London, 1973, p. 333.
6. Bentham, J. Works, I, p. 308.
7. Bentham, J. Works, IV, p. 230.
8. Bentham, J. Pauper Management Improved, pub. in Annals of Agriculture etc..
9. Bentham, J. UCL, CLI, 28.
10. Bentham, J. UCL, CLI, 30.
11. Bentham, J. UCL, CLI, 22.
12. Bentham, J. UCL, CLI, 23.
13. Mark, M. Jeremy Bentham: An Odyssey of Ideas, London: Heinemann, 1962, p. 249.
14. Bentham, J. An Introduction to the Principle of Morals and Legislation. Ed. Burns, J.H. and H.L.A. Hart, London: Athlone Press, 1970, p. 11.
15. Ibid., p. 12.
16. Bentham, J. Panomial Fragments, Works, III, p. 214.
17. On the subject of pleasure and pain, Bentham continued: "There are four distinguishable sources from which pleasure and pain are in use to follow...the physical, the political, the moral and the religious...they may all of them be termed sanctions. Pleasures and pains fall, according to Bentham, into one of two categories. Either they are simple, or they are complex. In An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation Bentham enumerated fourteen simple pleasures and twelve simple pains, each with its appropriate sub-divisions. For example, the first of the simple

17. (Continued) pleasures are the pleasures of sense, but Bentham listed nine senses of pleasures starting with the "pleasures of the taste or palate", proceeding via "the pleasure of the sexual sense" and concluding with "the pleasure of novelty". Pleasures and pains have to be calculated in units in order that they may be used as criteria for deciding the rightness or wrongness of a particular action. There are, generally speaking, seven circumstances to be taken into account when deciding the value of a pleasure. They are its intensity, its duration, its certainty, its propinquity, its fecundity, its purity and its extent.

18. For a fuller discussion of the Principle of Utility and its historical and philosophical antecedents refer to the following:

    Copplestone, F. A History of Philosophy, III, Modern Philosophy: Bertram to Russell: Part One. New York; Doubleday, 1967.

    Halevy, E. The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism. London: Faber and Faber, 1928.

    Stephen, Sir L.S. The English Utilitarians, Vol. I. London: Duckworth, 1900.

19. Dickens, C. Hard Times, Vol. XVI, London: Gresham, no date, p. 286.

20. Peacock, Crotchet Castle, ed. R. Garnett, London: Dent, 1891, pp. 22-38.

21. Bentham, Works, I, p. 193.

22. Bentham, J. UCL, 153a, 87.

23. Bentham, J. "An Outline of Pauper Management Improved" in Annals of Agriculture, Vol. 30. p. 275.

24. Bentham, J. UCL, 153a, 111.

25. Bentham, J. UCL, 153a, 132.

26. Bentham, J. Works, VIII, Table 1.

Chapter 3

HOUSES OF INDUSTRY

THE POOR AND THE PROBLEM OF INDIGENCE

> We now stand upon proud ground. Having elsewhere plucked the mask from the visage of false charity, the arch enemy no less of comfort than of industry, let us take up true charity and seat her on her throne.
>
> Economy too shall have her day, But her place is but in the second rank. Charity is the end: economy but the means.
>
> Jeremy Bentham

> Love your life, poor as it is. You may perhaps have some pleasant, thrilling, glorious hours, even in a poorhouse. The setting sun is reflected from the windows of the almshouse as brightly as from the rich man's abode.
>
> Thoreau

"The Poor ye have always with you" is perhaps one of the most often quoted biblical sentences. Certainly it is true that at all times in history there have been poor people and people who for various reasons have not been able to maintain themselves and their families without public assistance. During the lifetime of Jeremy Bentham, England was faced with a number of pressing problems. Politically, there was the revolution in France with its widespread international effects. Socially, the effects of the Agrarian and Industrial revolutions in terms of unemployment and urbanisation presented problems which England had not encountered on the same scale before. But present throughout all of these is the problem of pauperism. Whilst Bentham lived, and since, none was more crucial to the general tenor of society than the problem of pauperism. To the legislator of the 18th century, no matter whether he lived in town or country, in north or south, the pauper was always with him, a constant reminder of his social conscience and an eternal drain on his finances. Always, everywhere, pauperism was a social problem which threatened society and which demanded relief.

Prior to the introduction of the new Poor Law in 1834 the relief of poverty had been based in large part on the Act of 1601 (the famous '43 Eliz.c2'), with later modifications. The 1601 Act had made the parish the means of administering relief. As a device to promote social stability and guard against discontent it had been largely successful. It was, however, subject to considerable variation from place to place because of the large measure of autonomy it gave to the fifteen thousand parishes. Moreover, the social changes attendant upon the Industrial Revolution had placed an unduly heavy burden on urban parishes and clearly demonstrated the need for reform.

The call for reform was reinforced as it became apparent, at the turn of the eighteenth century, that Poor Law costs had increased considerably. It is difficult to be specific on this question due to the lack of reliable statistics. Even contemporaries could not have a complete picture. The most they could do was to observe circumstances in their own vicinity and extrapolate from that, often with inaccurate results. It was an appreciation of this difficulty that prompted Bentham's entry into the Poor Law field. Marshall[1] suggests that expenditure on the poor trebled between 1784 and 1815, going from £2 to £6 over that period. Gilbert's Returns in 1786[2] show a thirty-three per cent increase over the previous decade. By 1803 this had doubled again to a record spending level of £14½ million. Such figures would tend to corroborate those referred to earlier. It is, of course, by no means certain that such figures represent more than a proportionate increase in expenditure on the poor since the cost of everything else was also rising rapidly. But this latter was a realisation that was not apparent to many contemporaries. What was true was that the "expense of administering the Poor Law rose markedly during the period up to 1766 and spectacularly thereafter."[3]

It was, however, not merely the cost which interested Bentham and his contemporaries but the forms that the relief took. In the main there were three of these. First there was the Allowance System. This was a supplement to earned wages and was geared to the price of bread and the size of the recipient's family. Second was the Labour Rate. Here the parish levied an overall rate and then set its own evaluation on the worth of an individual's labour so that the individual labourer was paid in relation to the work he had done and on the basis of the value the parish had put on his services. Third was the Roundsman System by which paupers would be employed by farmers in turn and any ultimate deficiency in wages made up by the parish. It is at once obvious that such a system was open to widespread variation over time and place and subject to corruption. It was for these reasons too that Bentham's interest was aroused.

If it is difficult to be accurate as to costs it is equally so with respect to numbers. Records were not accurately maintained and where they were, nomenclature was often not stable. Often what was recorded was the total number of applications for relief in a year. Since individuals may well have applied several times it is not possible to infer numbers of paupers from the total number of applications. Perhaps the most accurate assessment of the number of paupers on relief at the turn of the century is to be found in the census of the poor which was compiled in 1802. The census is important because it avoided the pitfall of relying on the number of applications rather than the total number of persons on relief in any one year. What it shows is that one million people were on relief, including 300,000 under the age of fifteen years. Since the census of the previous year had shown a total population of some nine millions it may reasonably be deduced that approximately eleven per cent of the population was on relief of one kind or another. Though not all of these would be out and out paupers, it is still a disquieting figure. One must still treat such statistics with caution, however, since even though the degree of accuracy in their compilation had increased they were still far from reliable.

Three inferences may, however, be made from whatever statistical evidence is available. The first is that there was a disproportionately high number of children under fifteen on permanent out relief. The second is that the proportion of the able bodied on permanent relief is not as high as some contemporary critics of the old Poor Law, notably the middle classes, believed (perhaps a minimum of 30% of the total). The third is that the total numbers on relief was increasing.

It must be remembered that pauperism is not synonymous with being poor. There were many poor people who yet managed to maintain themselves in some precarious way without recourse to public relief. It may, however, be legitimately inferred that pauperism was a problem to which the lower orders were particularly prone since the line which divided the two groups was, in many ways, a fine one indeed. There was, of course, genteel poverty, that affliction which affected some members of the middle classes. Contemporary, or near contemporary, fiction supplies us with many examples, of which Mrs. Smith in Jane Austen's Persuasion (who had only one servant) and Miss Matty in Elizabeth Gaskell's Cranford, may serve as archetypes. But it is not this sort of comparative poverty with which we are here concerned. Abject poverty leading to pauperism is the concern of this study, and that was a problem which particularly afflicted the poorer classes.

The poor had been particularly hard hit with problems of personal adjustment consequent upon the agrarian and industrial revolutions. It was this sort of problem which frequently precipitated the victim into pauperism. Such personal and financial problems had previously been solved, in a relatively static society, by way of family help and by widespread acceptance of the social responsibilities of superiors to offer aid. With the movement into the towns this traditional means of support was increasingly denied to the poor as the superiors on whom they had relied (the middle classes in their fine homes) became less visible.

Some indication of the connection between pauperism and the lower orders may be gained from a brief examination of legislative, institutional, and other social responses, to the problem of pauperism. These demonstrate both how contemporaries viewed the problems and to some extent how the poor themselves saw their own condition.

On the legislative plane there were a number of acts in Parliament designed specifically to protect poor and pauper children which indicate at least a measure of Parliamentary concern. Sir Robert Peel's Health and Morals of Apprentices Act was passed in 1802 to protect pauper children from exploitation.[4] This was but the first of a series of such Acts[5] which were passed at regular intervals throughout the rest of the century. Others were introduced by Hobhouse, Ashley, and Peel to name but a few.

The connection between pauperism and the lower orders becomes further apparent if one examines the nature of the solutions proposed by middle class philanthropists. Such measures were designed to relieve distress but not to eradicate the root cause of it. The following may serve as examples of this. First of all there is the field of public health. It was appreciated that a cause of pauperism was poor living conditions, and consequently a variety of hospitals (designed with the poor in mind) was proposed to arrest the decline. This was to be supplemented by the provision of dispensaries. Lying-In hospitals, lunatic asylums, foundlings' hospitals and hospitals for the treatment of venereal disease are further examples of such institutions designed to alleviate suffering rather than eradicate pauperism. The expansion of prisons provides a similar example of measures designed to treat the symptom rather than the disease. Moreover, crime was clearly a vice of the poorer classes. The increasing chaos of the law, agricultural enclosures, and rising prices, affected the poor to a far greater extent than it did the other classes of society and brought to bear on them even greater pressures which could be resisted by them only by occasional resort to crime.

The only treatment which could be considered as an attempt to tackle the problem at the root level were the educational solutions. A whole host of Charity, Dame, and

Sunday schools (together with trade schools designed to provide specific training) were proposed and established in order to palliate the poor and arrest their decline into pauperism.

Bentham's interest in pauperism and Poor Law legislation arose out of his realization that any system which sought, as existing provisions did, merely to relieve suffering due to poverty without attempting to tackle the root causes of its growth would only end by creating more poverty than it relieved. At the same time he saw the obligation that the existence of extreme poverty placed on the legislator to provide a comprehensive system of relief which would ensure, as far as was humanly possible, that no one starved to death. Equally was there an obligation to ensure that the idle pauper was not encouraged to be a permanent burden on the industrious by making provision too liberal. Accordingly he addressed himself to devising just such a system.

Reference has already been made to Bentham's belief that an uneducated and unrelieved pauper mass presented a threat to the rest of society. His life-long interest in political economy is a major reason why Bentham immersed himself in the question of relieving the indigent, particularly when this was allied to his already well developed interest in legislation. The law was for Bentham an inductive science; it formulated general principles based on observation and experimentation. His interest in political economy, his fear of what the uneducated masses of the poor might do, coupled with his zeal for order, codification, and comprehensiveness, brought him to the realization that there was an absence of theory with respect to the treatment of the poor and that there was very little available in the way of factual information.

His first contribution specifically on pauperism was written in 1796 and it came in the form of a number of Essays Relative to the Subject of the Poor Laws.[6] These works are essentially theoretical and concern themselves with definitions of terms and the objectives and theory of a properly conceived poor law.

Bentham continued the following year with a number of contributions on the Situation and Relief of the Poor which were published in Arthur Young's Annals of Agriculture.[7] These were later published separately in 1812 as Pauper Management Improved: Particularly by means of an Application of the Panopticon Principle of Construction. This work was one to which Bentham returned on several occasions and which he took up again in the 1820's.

A third major contribution on this subject was his Observations on the Poor Bill Introduced by the Rt. Hon. William Pitt, written in February, 1797, and printed by

Chadwick for private circulation six years after Bentham's death in 1832. This was largely a negative reaction to the proposed measure. Particularly virulent was the attack on the "Cow-Money" clause.[8]

In his view of the general character of the poor, Bentham shared many of the attitudes of his time and class. For example, his belief that in their present uneducated, unimproved state the poor displayed woesome moral inadequacies was a belief he shared with such contemporaries as Malthus and Adam Smith. The vast majority (Bentham reckoned nineteen out of twenty) of the poor were, by inclination and habit, abominably lazy.[9] They thus possessed a strong tendency to indigence. Moreover, they certainly were not to be regarded as being grateful for any aid that was given to them. Rather the reverse; nothing but resentment ought to be looked for. Thus, for Bentham,

> As objects of tenderness they ought to be treated as children; but as instruments ever in readiness for the hand of mischief they ought to be regarded as enemies.[10]

However, in his opinion that to a great extent the sanguine contemplation of indigence, if not the existence of poverty itself, was a crime for which government must be held responsible, Bentham was at variance with the prevailing climate of opinion. In the chaos which characterised government, he believed, the indigent were simply overlooked as far as any systematic relief of their condition was concerned. It appeared quite obvious to Bentham that this chaos in government resulted in oppression and unfairness. In short, the paupers were discriminated against because of their poverty.

> To the poor, in this land of pretended liberty the whole country is a prison. English men are said to be free and they are taught to believe that no other people are so. But what sort of freedom is that where nine tenths of the people are confined within the limits of a parish? At this rate the debtors in the King's Bench prison may be said to be at liberty. For the bounds of the King's Bench prison are as extensive as some parishes.[11]

Bentham recognized that it was not possible for governments to abolish poverty entirely, but it was to their ignorance and indifference towards poverty that Bentham objected.[12] What particularly offended him was their refusal to find out the information which he regarded as essential to a solution of the problem.

So long as the extent of the problem remained a mystery so it would remain impossible to attempt a wholesale solution. Yet his suggestion, for example, that an accurate number of the paupers in need of relief be tabulated had provoked an outcry;

> At another time it (such a suggestion) would have been against liberty; as if a law that had less to do with liberty could be found; as if there ever had been such a thing as a law which was not somehow or another against liberty. Counting! a measure against liberty! Counting, the first operation of American independence.[13]

Bentham was astounded that government, with all the powers at its disposal, was unwilling to do this: "Counting noses is - and ever has been - and how long it has to be added still is, too much for government."[14]

To make everybody equal and rich was, it was true, beyond the power of government,

> But what is possible to government, and what it is the duty of government to do is to abstain from doing anything that shall put the poor man as such in a worse condition than the rich in any respect; whether in respect of his property, his liberty, his prosperity, his reputation, his life or his domestic or political rights.
>
> In all these respects the duty of government has been violated by the laws in being, and that in a sad variety of instances.[15]

It did not serve any useful purpose for government to abdicate its responsibilities, just as it made no sense for other members of society to say that poverty was the result of improvidence and, therefore, the imprudent must suffer the consequences of their actions. Bentham argued[16] that to sentence a man and his dependents to a slow death was a rather severe punishment for imprudence, particularly when such conduct was either "a constitutional and incurable disease, or the result of bad education". Bentham believed that society ought to be more positive and constructive in helping the poor rather than be harsh and punitive when they transgressed. He continued,

> The existence of a duty is insufficient reason for refusing to save men from the consequences of transgression. If no hospitals because men ought to live prudently no gallows because they ought to live honestly.[17]

Perhaps more to the point he recommended that a "consideration of the mischief the indigent might do to others, rather than starve, would of itself be a sufficient ground for not abandoning them to want."

Relief, therefore, was essential. Bentham, however, regarded it as unfair that the burden of providing it should fall on the industrious of all classes as an imposition for their industry and prudence.

> ...It is by working hands (he pointed out) and no others that the means of maintenance are produced...The very persons to whom in the first instance the country is so exclusively indebted for its wealth are thus driven about from pillar to post as if they were a nuisance. The notion seems to be that the prosperity of the hive depends upon the extirpation of the working bees.[18]

A consideration of such matters brought Bentham to the conclusion that relief ought to be given systematically to the indigent poor on humanitarian grounds as well as economic and political ones.[19] However, in order for it to be successful in its aim of relieving distress and of removing the burden on the industrious, and preventing its future recurrence, it had to include an element of education. For it was only through education, in the broadest sense, that indigence could be attacked at its root. And yet the education of the poor was consistently ignored by those who wrote on that subject. Bentham was convinced that

> the title (of the pauper) to a superior share of attention on the part of government and on the part of those who take upon them to offer advice to Government is beyond dispute. It rests on two grounds: superiority in point of numbers, and superiority in point of need. The poor are the materials of which the far greater part of the fabric of society is composed. Whatever requires to be done for men in the way of education, it is the poor in particular that require it to be done for them excluded as they are by their poverty from the ability and by their ignorance from even the desire of doing it for themselves.[20]

Hence the educational purpose of Bentham's pauper schemes. Through education, training, and the inculcation of good moral attitudes it both removed the threat to property and security which was implicit in violent revolution, and at the same time provided the skills and knowledge necessary to achieve personal happiness.

There is then a strong element of humanity and compassion running through Bentham's proposals to relieve pauperism. This might appear to be an unusual claim to make, particularly when one considers that a lack of humanity was one of the most telling criticisms made of the 1834 Poor Law which shows the obvious influence of Bentham. By contemporary standards, that law may appear harsh but the proper criterion for judging it ought not to be the present approach but the attitudes, provisions and circumstances of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In that context it must be seen as an humane measure. In any case, the law as it was passed by Parliament was not pure Benthamism.

There is in Bentham's schemes a considerable body of evidence to support the notion of his humane concern for the poor. For example, he stipulated that the work of the paupers should in no way be unwholesome or injurious to health.[21] He was concerned for the blind, the insane, and the deaf and dumb,[22] and in the case of the latter was very explicit that, without education, they would be destined to a sub-human, savage state, while with it they were as capable of leading happy lives as the rest of humanity. He was insistent that no one ought to be treated with such indifference by society that they were left to starve to death.[23] He also insisted that the paupers in the Houses must be treated fairly and not be abused either physically or verbally.[24] Finally, he made provision in the Plan to prevent the financial abuse and exploitation of the poor.[25] All these testify to Bentham's concern for the poor on a personal and humane level.

It is true that in his Plan Bentham might fairly be accused of having rigorous, perhaps rigid, standards, as for example his stipulation that

> infirmity, whether or body or mind, affords not any good ground of exemption...with respect to work any other wise than in so far as it is attended with inability. Examples - A person deprived of all his limbs, or the use of all his limbs, may still possess ability sufficient to the purpose of serving as an inspector to most kinds of work, so long as his mental faculties, sight for observing, and voice for reporting are possessed by him in sufficient vigour.[26]

Certainly a rigorous code, but not an inhumane one.

Bentham could, however, fairly be accused of condescension, as for example when he prescribed restricted access by the paupers to

> ...all articles coming under the well known denomination of *kitchen physic*: but above all, those of which the charms have but too much attraction for persons of all classes, but more particularly in a variety of accounts for the class of persons here in question - inebriating liquors...so that of the uneducated poor...who are a sort of grown children.[27]

But it would be unjust and untrue to accuse him of being inhumane, particularly in an age when cruelty to all those men and beasts unable to defend themselves was a regular feature of English life.[28]

Bentham's proposed solution to the problem of indigence was in effect a progressive one in that it represented an improvement over the system which already existed for the relief of poverty. The notion of "progress" implies a qualitative development and not only a chronological one, though of course the two may be combined.[29]

In attempting to establish a uniformly just system, he was sometimes condescending, sometimes paternalistic, and sometimes quite restrictive. But he was always humane, and such an attitude must surely be considered a "progressive" one. What he was attempting to do was to improve the lot of the indigent poor by providing secure relief without harming the independent poor whilst at the same time maintaining the right of property, and security.

The most radical features of Bentham's Plan which distinguish it from contemporary practice and other suggested alternatives are, first, its proposal to abolish out relief; second, the idea of a Joint Stock Company; third, the revived question of farming the poor,[30] fourth, the profit incentive given to officials, fifth, the coercive powers given to the National Charity Company, and finally, the blessing it gave to the financial exploitation of the work of minors.

By far the most progressive aspect of his proposed solution is the central role he assigned to education. Bentham believed that it was only ignorance of where their best interests lay that led men to choose a bad course (indigence) where a better one (profitable labour) was available. Since it appeared to be the poor who consistently chose such bad courses, the solution was obvious - they must be educated. Then, with the good and the bad before them, equally practicable and equally practised, what would lead men to choose the bad?[31] The need to educate the indigent poor was further reinforced by Bentham's belief that their impoverished condition would be improved by useful education which would provide practical help to enable them to improve their condition. "Improvidence (he believed) is the growth of all minds, but more particularly of barren and uncultivated ones. By culture it may be reduced but so long as man is man, it can never be thoroughly extirpated."[32] Whilst their minds were vacant men would turn to undesirable activities, such as drinking. Bentham's scheme for the indigent poor had thus to include educational provisions. Not that it was ever Bentham's intention that the Houses should so educate them as to instill in them false notions of superiority; he recommended that

> in the education of children maintained ...at the public expense it should not be an object of endeavour to enable them... to acquire a superiority in any respect to children maintained at the expense of their parents.[33]

Of particular value would be the education of the "Imperfect Hands" (i.e., those who suffered from some physical defect). In this respect the Houses would serve an invaluable educational function. Bentham even suggested that special houses should be set up to educate them,[34] so important was this purpose. If neglected, the deaf mute, for example, would be no more than a "wretched idiot, a being scarce human, consuming the labour of others",[35] whereas

> the same person brought up in a manner adapted to the peculiarity of his situation, may be rendered as valuable a member of society in every sense, the economical one not excepted, as if no such infirmity had fallen to his share.[36]

The Houses could even become schools of instruction for those who would teach the maimed. The instruction of the physically infirm and maimed would there be pursued as a matter of principle.[37]

Before arriving at his final choice of system for the relief of the indigent poor, Bentham had considered a number of alternatives.[38] These were, the Home Provision Plan (under which relief would be given to the poor in their homes), the Public Provision Plan (where relief would be given only in the institutions to be set up), and the Half and Half Plan which would be a combination of these two. The first alternative was discarded because in the home of the poor man all facilities for the cultivation of the mind were lacking.[39] The Half and Half Plan was rejected for similar reasons; that is,

> ...we shall find it...destroying the good effects of the public education plan, and in the combination giving birth to new mischiefs which neither element would have exhibited alone...Regulated instruction governing the day; rough ignorance the night...the work of the day will be unravelled by the night.[40]

Bentham dwelt on the disadvantages of the Half and Half Plan with respect to education at some length. For example, time would be wasted because of the distance between home and school so that parents would look for any excuse to keep their children away from it.[41] In addition, under the Half and Half Plan children punished at school would be able to complain to their parents and this would only engender hostility between the home and the school;[42] it was much better to avoid this conflict by discarding the idea of the Half and Half system entirely.

Consequently it was by a process of elimination and on educational grounds that Bentham arrived at the Public Provision Plan. In this he saw a number of distinct educational advantages. First, in the Houses of Industry,

> the improvement of education will keep pace with the growth of wisdom in the size. Whatsoever things are thought good for all children, if one has them so will all.[43]

By this Bentham meant that as practice was vindicated by experience so the benefits of both practice and experience would be made available to all the children in all the houses. Second, the regard of children for their parents would increase as the parents became less familiar; in these circumstances, "The Parent will be as King; the more easy to honour, the more difficult to see..."[44] Third, the Inspection Principle would ensure that no taint imported from outside would be able to spread throughout the whole institution.

It is apparent that Bentham employed a very wide concept of what constituted education. Indeed, he had earlier expressed the view that "the whole term of the individual is composed within the field of education."[45] Every moment of life he believed ought to be dedicated to one of seven objects; one of these was intellectual improvement, while work in various forms formed a substantial part of the others. Thus, there is in Bentham's scheme for the education of the poor a definite connection between instruction and work. Work is the lot of the mass of mankind; certainly it was the lot of the poor who formed the majority of the people. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Plan connects education and work, and the profitable use of all time. For example:

> the business of education includes the business of providing occupations of one kind or another, for filling up in some way or another the time of the individual to be educated. In saying the time, I mean the whole time, the portion allotted to sleep itself not excepted...[46]

Hence the essentially educational purpose of the proposed Houses of Industry. From formal instruction, and moral and vocational training, would come the means of profitably filling up all a person's time, of providing him with suitable employment, and of enabling him to perceive in which direction his best interests lay.

Productive labour for all people, but particularly for the indigent poor who were so much more in need of improvement, was the recipe for an improved society. It was particularly important to educate the children of the indigent. They were in fact to be the cornerstones of the success of the Houses. To educate them in the prescribed and systematic manner would be to "institute as part of the plan, a great system of national education - to substitute a garden culture to barrenness or weeds."[47]

In the published version of the Plan,[48] Bentham postulated fifteen aims of education. Of these only two (intellectual strength, and instruction in suitable points of art and knowledge) are concerned with education in the conventional sense of the word. The manuscripts are more specific on this matter [49] than are any of the published versions. They list twelve subjects that would be taught. These are: reading, natural history, arithmetic, writing, chemistry, mechanics, geometry, music, swimming, dancing, morality, and medicine. The choice was justified, of course, on the grounds of their usefulness. Dancing may appear curious in this respect but it did involve physical exercise, on which Bentham was very keen. Since "productive labour" was to commence at the age of four years it would seem that after that time formal lessons would have to take place on Sundays, and the outline of the Plan does indeed make provision for "learning to read and write and cypher, and practising ditto when learnt"[50] as being suitable employments for Sunday. Morality, too, is a surprising choice in terms of "useful studies", or it is until one sees just what it is that Bentham had in mind. Morality, it appears, is neither more nor less than amplification of the theme "Study to be quiet and mind your own business."[51] A very practical aim to inculcate into the minds of pauper children when one considers that the alternatives might otherwise be social discontent and upheaval. A more detailed discussion of such formal schooling is included in Chapter VI of this study.

Traditionally the education of the poor had been a casual and intermittent affair, carried on without direction and in a random manner, where it was undertaken at all. Now the "plastic power" of education was to be applied in a systematic manner under conditions which would guarantee its effectiveness. It would be effective not only because the House of Industry would exercise a total influence over its wards, but also because the concept of education was widened to include not only formal instruction but everything that an individual did. Thus would "the proper end of education (be) no other than the proper end of life-well being."[52]

The decade of the 1790's witnessed a revival of interest in the indigent and a number of plans for their relief. It might appear that yet another plan for their improvement would be thought superfluous. Bentham thought not, however, and proceeded to develop his own proposal.

> ...My plan, (he noted) does not interfere with that of Government. The subject matter operated upon is not the same... the main body of my plan is a supposed improved provision for the burthensome part of the poor:...
>
> In this point of view the main body of the plan can hardly be said to interfere with the plan in relation to the Poor that in the beginning of the year was brought into Parliament.[53]

Bentham went on to point out first that the Government plan (promoted by Pitt) presented nothing in the way of employment but was merely

> a sort of universal pension list, paying as much for nothing or for next to nothing as for the utmost and most successful exertion in the way of industry.[54]

Second, he argued,

> My Industry Houses are dwellings. The edifices of the government plan are not dwellings - they are not so in name for they are expressly termed not Houses of Industry but Schools of Industry. They are not so in design for nobody is to sleep in them. Nothing is to be done in them but work - consequently nobody is to ever enter the door who is not both able and willing to work. They are not Boarding Schools but Day schools.[55]

Third, he insisted that

> ...what the plan I am alluding to (the Government's) does aim at is the prevention of a part of the stock of indigence. But prevention unless all comprehensive as well as infallible, neither of which qualities can I fear be attributed to the Plan in question, leaves the demand for relief still-standing: and as for relief there are whole classes and those extremely numerous ones, in relation to which relief is not so much as aimed at: orphans, deserted children, bastards, idiots, lunatics, women in child-bed...[56]

In short, Bentham felt that while in some respects the plans (both Pitt's and his own) might be mutually complementary, his, by virtue of its all embracing provisions, was to be preferred. Most certainly Bentham's plan could never be accused of not being exhaustive. The relevant manuscripts fill seven substantial boxes in the Library of University College, London.[57]

As originally conceived by Bentham the Plan was to have comprised five books.[58] Book One is concerned with what Bentham was pleased to call the Political Arrangements of the proposed scheme. In this respect Bentham considered a number of alternative administrative structures. The already established unit, the parish, was considered as a basis, but Bentham felt that parishes were too dissimilar in size and population to form independent units of his proposed system.[59] The solution he proposed was to amalgamate parishes (usually five together[60]) to form viable units. Bentham anticipated that four houses of industry per county would ordinarily suffice,[61] and reckoning on there being fifty-two counties in England and Wales, he envisaged a system of somewhat over two hundred houses.[62]

It remained to decide in whom the control of the system would reside, that of the Government or of a private company. Bentham chose the latter.[63] Why such a choice? With government control, he argued, "You would have unity of authority and universality of extent and any profit would accrue to the public,"[64] but

> one single and very simple consideration seems sufficient to turn the scale. On the supposition of Government management the money - the capital - comes from the unwilling; under Company management from the willing. In this point of view the difference is between tax and no tax; a national burthen to the amount of 5 or 6 million, and none.[65]

In addition the efficiency of government was universally suspect;

> By all discoursers, by all writers, Adam Smith at the head, government economy seems to be placed at the lowest point on the scale. First and highest stands individual management or individual account, next Trust management coupled with "interest" in the success - then trust management without interest - and government management at the bottom.[66]

With Company management one would be spared the expense of sinecures; and the

> Endurance of sinecures is the last stage of the indemical disease of government, termed relaxation of discipline.[67]

So, Bentham concluded,

> ...when I compare the uninterested and unmercantile management of Government with the interested and mercantile management of a Joint Stock Company...I cannot but acknowledge that the prospect afforded by the Company management appears at least as much superior to that afforded by Government management.[68]

Consequently he proposed that

> the management of the concerns of the poor all over South Britain be committed to one authority, and the expense provided for out of one Fund.
>
> This authority, that of a Joint Stock Company under some such name as that of the National Charity Company or English Charity Company.[69]

The funds for the enterprise were to be collected from three sources; from investors, from the existing poor rates, and from the labour of the poor who came to be employed.[70] The Company would have a Board of General Direction which would be resident in London and include a Governor and a Sub-Governor. The Director was to swear an Oath. This was to serve as a check on his personal interest and loyalty, to serve as a guarantee against conflicts of interest, and was a promise

> to adhere, with unremitting strictness, to such of the principles of economy as constitute the main pillars of the system; unless in as far as any departure from them shall have received the sanction of Parliament.[71]

As for the inmates, the Company was to have consigned to it "certain descriptions of the indigent,[72] but not prostitutes (since they were already gainfully employed). The fathers and mothers of bastards were to be admitted, however, and the latter were to be pressed into service "...to give suck at the same time to some other infant in case of need."[73] The major difference between this and other plans was the obligation on the part of the Company

> that every person whatsoever applying for relief at any Industry House...is entitled to relief...but under the condition of remaining and working for the benefit of the Company until the expense of relief has been defrayed by the value of his labour.[74]

The Company also undertook certain other obligations.[75] Not the least important of these was the maintaining of four categories of collateral uses: pecuniary, medical, maritime, and promulgatory.[76] The security for all of this was to be the power of the Attorney General

> ...to move the Court of King's Bench for a Mandamus for the purpose of compelling on the part of the Company...the performance of any of the Duties with which they are charged.[77]

If this happened then the costs of the action would be chargeable to the Directors either out of Company funds or out of their own pockets (at the discretion of the Court).

Book Two is devoted to the underlying principles of management, the composition of the official establishment and other administrative details. The first matter dealt with is the desirability of separating one class of inmates from another. Infected persons would have to be kept separate from healthy ones[78] and since the "corrupt" class would pervert the non-corrupt, they would need to be kept separate too. Others who needed to be segregated from the general mass were "young children (below six years of age), Mothers of Bastards, and Brothel Keepers."[79] The sexes would also need to be kept apart, for Bentham sagely warned that

> Preservation against attractions so powerful as those which draw the sexes to each other should never be trusted to so frail an obstacle as that which is approved by prohibition. When means which are at once sure of success and free from uneasiness are at hand, it is equally cruel and impolitic to have recourse to such of what the pain is certain, and the efficacy, precarious. Before the desire can begun to have manifest itself the reciprocal object should be effectively kept out of each others way until the very period at which it is intended to be indulged.[80]

"Extraneous" hands would have a tendency to corrupt the "indigenous" stock by their knowledge of the outside world, so they too ought to be kept apart.[81] Finally, "there remains separation for the purpose of education:"[82] those children admitted from outside the establishment would require a different education from those raised in the House since birth.

Another aspect of the question of "living arrangements" is the desirability of separation to prevent the giving of annoyance by one group of inmates to another, and aggregation for the same purpose. For example, lunatics would cause no annoyance to the deaf and dumb, neither would deformed lunatics upset the blind, and "to men and women of profligate conversation, the deaf and dumb, and dumb would serve as apposite neighbours."[83] The principal means by which the separation would be attained was the application of the "All-Seeing Principle."[84] This involved an architectural device by which one person could oversee all that was being done by the inmates without himself being seen. It was

> ...that Principle of Architecture which affords to the eyes concerned in management, the faculty of surveying, superintending, directing and instructing the stock of working hands...without change of place.[85]

Bentham borrowed it from the earlier Panopticon Plan and was inordinately proud of it since "it rendered uncleanliness, drunkenness, oppression, idleness and destruction of life or property at once impossible."[86]

The question of buildings and land occupied a great deal of Bentham's attention in this section of the Plan.[87] He wrote at some length on the optimum size of institutions and where they ought most advantageously to be located. As far as size of the Houses was concerned Bentham's principal concern was that they should be big enough to be an economic proposition but not so big that the Inspection Principle could not be applied to them. The all-seeing inspection principle imposed a maximum size on the buildings.

There were general advantages which Bentham anticipated would be derived from this optimum size. These were, the saving of extra salaries, the avoiding of the cost of more building and furnishings, the more economical use of resources and labour, and the increased chance of obtaining better management.[88] The size he recommended was that the buildings be capable of housing two thousand individuals. This would also permit the construction of specialist buildings. Thus, the deaf and dumb who would otherwise be idiots,[89] could be trained and maintained for their own and the Company's benefit. Such buildings would by this means be "raised to the rank of a public edifice" and become "a standing object of curiosity and visitation to Travellers!"[90] The guiding principle in this connection ought to be to

> let care be taken not to institute any establishment of a magnitude inferior to that which is necessary to afford a mass of earning, sufficient to furnish interest, wear and tear and ordinary profit upon the mass of capital as well fixed as circulating.[91]

As to the location of the houses, it was Bentham's suggestion that the shorter the distance between them the better.[92] In any case the distance should not be above one day's walking distance. This was to enable applicants to be able to walk from one house to another and to enable the houses to form a chain for ease of administration. There were, in addition, further advantages to be anticipated from close proximity. First, it would facilitate access to relief where necessary. Second, it would render the houses easily available to the sick, for treatment, without the expense of travelling, and the inmates would remain close enough to their roots to permit occasional visits from their friends (the "disreputable classes excepted"). Similarly, they would themselves be able to visit. Third, the independent poor would have increased knowledge of available employment and at the same time be enabled to use the savings bank facilities it was proposed they should have. Finally, the independent poor travelling in search of work would have cheap overnight accommodation always within ready access.[93]

Reference has already been made to the importance of the Constant Inspection Principle. This naturally imposed restrictions on the basic architectural design to be employed. Bentham included an elevation, a section and a Ground Plan of this design in his work. There were a number of considerations to be borne in mind in the building of the houses. These were to be the health of the inmates and their comfort, their potential for industry, the protection of morality and the enforcement of discipline, the reception and accommodation of visitors, safety against fire, that they should be capable of being used for Sunday devotions, and, of course, economy.

On each of these in turn Bentham elaborated in the minutest detail.[94] For example, as far as utilization of the building for the purposes of religion was concerned, he suggested that

> at the time of divine service, a stage, on which are placed the pulpit, reading-desk, clerk's desk, and communion table, lets down through the ceiling upon the floor of the lodge. Balanced by counterpoises all round, a moderate force is sufficient to raise or lower it. The under surface of the stage, in form of a flattish dome, constitutes, as far as it extends, the ceiling of the lodge. The descent of this dome discloses a set of circular seats above, serving as a gallery for chapel visitors. The pauper congregation are ranged, on a set of forms, backed by circumferential screens, which keep the implements of work out of sight. An interval of two feet all round, above the top of the circumferential screens, serves for the admission of the light.[95]

The ventilation arrangements were equally exotic and included an annular well covered by a sky-light, a whole series of ventilation tubes to allow "that part of the air injured by respiration" to escape "without the blast inconveniencing the inhabitants, and a converse chain for carrying off the heavy part of the foul air."[96]

Other arrangements, all in considerable detail, included a means of obtaining supplementary light

> by lining the interior boundary of the gallery on the outside here and there with pieces of looking-glass, by which the light, coming through the windows of the upper or gallery floor of the divisions all-round would be reflected to the interior.[97]

Sleeping arrangements for single and double beds were also discussed. For the former, specifications as to size and quality were given with Bentham's customary attention to detail and economy. For example, each bed was to be equipped with a counterpoise so that it might be lifted up out of the way during the day to leave the space free for work; it was also to be capable of being reversed for use as a work-table, the use of hinges permitting more space and saving storage.[98] For married couples he suggested that they be alternated with

> sets of childrens' bed stages, for children of an innocent and unobserving stage...the alternation should be so managed, as that each couple should have for its opposite neighbours - not another married couple - but a set of children.[99]

Even the approach to the establishment was carefully designed to permit the maximum observation of all who appeared. Bentham stipulated that

> this (should be) the only approach - no introduction by stealth - neither ingress or egress for any one without his being exposed to scrutiny, the whole length of the avenue.[100]

The principles under which the management of the establishments would be carried on were similarly exhaustive.

The first principle, that of inspection, has already been alluded to. Bentham did not doubt that this would be an efficient and effective method of control. It is, however, but one of seven such principles which were applied to the management of the Houses. A number of these have already been referred to (Separation and Aggregation, Central Inspection, and Large scale of operation). The others include the Management Selection Principle, by which good points of management found in one place could be employed universally, the Tabular Statement Principle designed to simplify and standardize book-keeping procedures, the Uniform Management Principle which is virtually the same as the Management Selection Principle, and finally the "Local-Consideration Observing, or Exception Observing Principle" under which local exceptions to general rules might be made if circumstances required it.[101]

Bentham was concerned not only that the establishments should be run on sound principles, but that the management should have some personal interest in, and derive some benefit from, this process. Accordingly he added a number of other principles designed to achieve this. The Duty and Interest Principle is an example, being designed through punishment and reward to

> strengthen the junction between interest and duty...i.e., to make it each man's interest to observe on every occasion that conduct which it is his duty to observe.[102]

What Bentham had in mind here was that an individual would do his best not because it was his job but because he had some personal stake in the outcome. For example, the medical curator's salary would diminish if too many of the inmates died. It was, therefore, in his own interest to take good care of them. Publicity given to wrong-doing would also serve an important part here. The Life Assurance or Common Interest Principle is another; by this means financial rewards to the managers would be augmented as pauper deaths diminished, and financial deprivation would be imposed as they increased:

> For the preservation of humanity on the part of the managing hands...Let care be taken to make application of the Common-Interest principle to the business of life-insurance...all persons on whom the life and health of the individuals to be provided for shall find themselves gainers by every diminution of the rate of mortality, and losers by every encrease of it.[103]

The third principle, the Principle of Publicity, or Transparent Management Principle, is one that always appealed to Bentham. By publicizing the particulars of management the good would be lauded whilst the bad would be condemned.

> It operates (he claimed) as an aid to the will by exposing it to the action of that mass of punishment and reward which has public opinion for its source. It strengthens power by enabling each of the component establishments to receive instruction not only from every other of its fellow establishments but from the enlightened part of the public

> at large. It shows to each what is good and bad in every other that the good may be every where adopted and the bad avoided.[104]

Other principles bore particularly on what Bentham referred to as the "working-hands", or the inmates. The major difference between Bentham's Plan and others of its genre is that in Bentham's scheme no one would be turned away and all would be put to profitable employment. This was in accordance with his All-Employing Principle and was fundamental to his plan. He expressed it in the following way:

> Not one in a hundred is absolutely incapable of all employment. Not the motion of a figure - not a step - not a wink - not a whisper - but might be turned to account, in the way of profit, in a system of such magnitude. A bed-ridden person if he can see and converse may be fit for inspection; or though blind, if he can sit up in bed, may knit, spin, etc. etc. Real inability is relative only.[105]

The work to be carried on in the Houses ought not to be injurious to health.[106] The reason for this was that the work to be done was obligatory and to force a person to do unwholesome work was a "condemnation to torture and slow death." That unwholesome work had to be done by somebody was not disputed, but that it ought to be done by people who chose to do it was the point in question.[107] Bentham then went on to stipulate that a distinction ought to be made

> between works that are essentially and generally unhealthy, as being of a poisonous

> nature, and works which without being at all conversant with substances or processes of a poisonous nature owe their unhealthiness to the confinement, the want of free exercise, or free air or both with which they are either in practice or in their own nature attended...It is only where the work is of an essentially and inevitably unwholesome nature, that the objection to the introduction of it into the establishment in question has any application.[108]

Care ought, therefore, to be taken in the allotment of such work: that it be given to an individual in proportion as his constitution was able to bear it.[109] In all of this advantage was to be taken of the principle of the division of labour.[110] Each person employed was, in fact, to be taught two types of occupation, one active and one sedentary, one indoor and one outdoor;[111] females were to have a mixture of "ordinary family employments and other lucrative employment."

Implicit in all of this is Bentham's fundamental premise that no relief would be given except where the individual entered the House. To permit "out relief" would be to give way to false compassion: Bentham wrote

> ...compassion is one thing: relief, efficacious and unmischievous relief, a very different thing...it is not in the power of parishes to give Kingdoms...Come in and give your all or stay out and starve such is the harsh, though unavoidable alternative presented by Poor House charity.[112]

To permit out relief would be merely to give a "bounty on idleness". It was, therefore, necessary to give the Company the power to coerce applicants to enter the House,[113] as there were those who would otherwise choose to be maintained in idleness on parish relief. This also strengthened Bentham's belief in the desirability of one single Poor Law authority for the whole country. To divide authority would be to make it easier for the idle to continue in that state.

Though Bentham may not have fully understood human nature, he did appreciate that people would work better if some inducements to do so were held out to them. He, therefore, made some provision for this in his Plan. One of those inducements was the Earn-First Principle by which the inmates would only acquire credit for work which was actually completed; and no meal would be provided for them until the work had been finished. Another inducement was the credit that a man would obtain by way of reputation for being a good workman; this meant that the work done had to be of a type which would permit an assessment of individual ability.[114] Rewards (for example a superior seat at table, or a preferred place in the procession to and from work) were acceptable as long as they were unaccompanied by "undesirable effects". It was recognized that such inducements would be unlikely to have any effect on the lazy; for them special treatment was prescribed. A stock of suitable tasks would be kept handy and a work norm for each of them prescribed: thus

> knowing by experience how many turns of such a wheel can be performed by a willing hand of ordinary strength...you take your Raw or lazy Hand and put it to him at once saying to him - when you have performed such a number of turns, your meal is ready for you.[115]

In a Note on this idea Bentham observed that

> Death (it might be said) might at this rate be the punishment of laziness - or at least of laziness and obstinacy conjoined. Certainly if a man is bent on suicide, he may commit it in this way if he pleases: but if the building happens to be two storeys high, so may he by jumping out of the window.[116]

If the inmates were to work it was recognized that they would have to eat. Here the basic principle was that whilst they must be adequately fed they must not be indulged, particularly at the public expense, either in food or clothing. This was prescribed by the Cheapest-Fare principle. This stipulated that the quality of the fare provided ought to be the cheapest possible, so that "Charity maintenance, maintenance at the charge of others ought not to be made more eligible than self-maintenance."[117] For if it was there would be less incentive to the self-maintaining poor to remain independent outside the House of Industry.

As in food so in other necessaries; clogs instead of shoes, wood instead of leather. Bentham anticipated that by this means a saving of £75,000 would be made.[118] Bentham himself led a frugal and sober life and he was not about to recommend that paupers be indulged at the public expense.

He consequently formulated the Sobriety or No Fermented Liquor Principle. He maintained that fermented liquor was un-natural, contributed nothing to health, produced misery, and that it was difficult to distinguish between its proper use and its abuse. Hence he stipulated that

> Considering that even the cheapest kind of fermented liquor is a luxury in which many of the self-maintained members of the community are unable to indulge...Let it be a rule never to be departed from...(except in as far as necessary for the purpose of medicine) in no case to admit within the walls...of the Establishment any species of fermented liquor.[119]

There are two further matters that should be included under the heading of the principles of management; the first is the Refuse Employing or Save-All Principle, the second the Apprenticeship Principle.

The Refuse-Employing Principle was a result of Bentham's constant concern for economy. At the same time it provides some insight into the detailed way in which his mind worked. For example, the tools to be used in the various trades carried out in the Houses ought to be capable of a variety of uses.[120] Similarly, the same space in the House ought to be used in a variety of ways[121] (for work, sleeping, amusement, devotion, etc.). Even refuse ought to be re-cycled; the following is an example of what he had in mind:

> 1 Straw from the beds at the expiration of the week to be spread on the soil troughs.
> 2 The soil troughs with the straw in them to be slid under the seats in the Houses of Office (one for each sex) there to receive the ordure of the next week. The troughs to be provided with wheels or rollers. Every week the soil troughs to be emptied upon the Compost Heap.
> Note
> A stock of grass, leaves or hay according to the season to be regularly provided, to be divided into portions, one of which to be received by each person on his entrance into the House of Office, from a decrepit old man or woman stationed there for that purpose.[122]

The Apprenticeship Principle was essential to the success of the venture for it was whilst they were in their late teens that work people were at their most productive. The Company, therefore, had an obligation to employ and educate such young people since

> In point of economy as well as morality, the article relevant to minors is of the very essence of the plan. In this case consists the only sound as well as permanent strength of the establishment; the only part which can be depended upon...And in point of morality to comprehend this class in the plan is to institute as part of the plan, a great system of national education - to substitute garden culture to barrenness or weeds.[123]

The profit on the labour of the apprentices covered not only the cost of their own maintenance, but also that of others in the community.[124] Accordingly, minors were to be bound to the Company till they became of full age; for males this was 21, for females it was 19. Bentham believed that this would involve gain to both the child and the Company. The child would benefit by receiving intellectual, moral, and religious instruction, the habit of frugality, security from vice, and the certainty of employment. The latter would reap increased profits.[125] (See Appendix B).

Bentham anticipated that most of the criticism to his scheme would be directed against his idea of "farming" the poor. This was the business of contracting the labour of the poor out to a manager (or "farmer") who would exploit it to make a profit. The objection that was made to this idea was that it was unnecessarily exploitive and would mean that the labour would be worked until it dropped. Bentham countered that this was not so at all;

> If I work my servant to death, I lose his service; If I work him into ill health without killing him, I hurt myself so much the more.[126]

On the contrary, he maintained, the system would be successful because it conjoined duty and interest;

> ...looking a little more closely into the "book of human nature" I learnt at last that a system of management the characteristic property of which is to afford at the same time the strongest stimulant to good management and the strongest check to what is bad, is instead of being the worst species of management, in most cases the only good one.[127]

Bentham further contended that no rational argument had been levelled at the scheme, but only invective; "R. Burn[128] (he wrote) in one of his books has drawn a hobgoblin, and written under it Farmer of the Poor. This picture has from that time to the present stood in the place of argument."[129]

In summary, Bentham's main defence was that his system would produce better management not worse,[130] that it would benefit the worker by providing him with humane education[131] and that the system had been reviled not because of any intrinsic defects but because the small size of districts had produced a distaste for it and because the calibre of the "farmers" had been poor.[132]

It is apparent that such a comprehensive scheme would rise or fall in large measure on the quality and uniformity of its management. This is why Bentham had attempted to involve the managers' own fortunes as closely as possible in the success of the enterprise by means of his Duty and Interest, his Life-Warranting, and his Transparent Management Principles.

Bentham expected there would be eleven administrative posts in every establishment but not necessarily eleven people to fill them, since one person might well have several jobs, or one post might require several people. The most important of the posts were that of Governor, Chaplain, Medical Curator (probably someone who had previously exercised that function in the army or the navy since interruptions in the wars were constantly casting them on shore), School-master (also to act as secretary), Organist (on week days also to be a clerk), Governess, and Schoolmistress "for the younger part of the female apprentices."[133] The other posts were that of Matron (also to act as midwife), Husbandry Bailiff, and Foreman and Forewoman. In his manuscripts, from which the version published in the Annals was prepared, Bentham included provision for a Sub-Governess who was to officiate also as the Head School-Mistress at an annual salary of £16"13"0[134] (though a half of that was to be deducted for her board and lodging) and a Secretary. He also stipulated that

> none of the following Officers to enter upon their respective Offices till after they have attended two courses of instruction in Chemistry and Mechanics; in which the instruction shall be particularly adapted to the several businesses that must be carried on in the Establishment - the two courses in each branch to be read by two different lecturers. 1 Governor 2 Chaplain 3 Medical Curator 4 Husbandry Bailiff 5 School Master 6 Secretary.
> (Head Nurse to have similar courses in midwifery and management of infants and a period of experience in a Lying In Hospital for months).[135]

Those suggestions were dropped in the published version; perhaps on account of the extra expense that would be involved, perhaps in the latter case because of the difficulty of finding the necessary institutions.

In order to encourage officers in the efficient execution of their duties and to ensure that men of "education, talents, and honest ambition" would apply, Bentham suggested that the King should promise to knight one especially good Governor every year, and confer a desirable sinecure on one Chaplain.[136] Again, in the published version, Bentham made some changes: the knighthood was to be conferred on

> a select number of such of the governors as should have distinguished themselves in the humane, upright, intelligent, and dignified exercise of their office.[137]

More than one sinecure should also be presented.

Bentham was concerned not only about the quality of management but also to protect the inmates' interests from undue exploitation. He therefore made provision for complaints about their treatment to be submitted to a Visitation of the Magistrates and Clergy of the district.[138] In addition he forbade corporal punishment. Neither were officers to call the paupers by rude names.[139] In case of serious complaints, the chaplain or surgeon were to have the power of veto on any order of the Governor until a decision on the matter at dispute could be made by the Board of Directors.[140]

It is not to be expected that such an important question as the diet of the inmates (Bentham anticipated it would account for about two thirds of the total expense)[141] would go unattended. Bentham devoted a great deal of attention to this in an attempt to maintain a quality sufficiently high as to permit maximum work efficiency whilst at the same time costing the minimum amount. He found it necessary to distinguish between the needs he felt newcomers to the houses would have (necessity with respect to life and health being the most important), and those which he felt the old stagers would demonstrate. Amongst some peoples, for example, meat was customarily eaten, but it was costly. Other people were vegetarian. Which was the healthier group, Bentham wondered. Nobody knew, but here was the very opportunity to experiment and find out.[142] Bread, likewise, was uneconomical since it was considered as an appendage to meat and not a substitute for it; moreover, it had to be made. With respect to children experiments ought to be made to determine whether they would eat more food if they were given two meals or three per day; tests of strength would be established and would act as the criteria. Even the infants did not escape; their milk was first to be skimmed of its cream, and the skimmed milk then to be mixed with one third to one half of water before being made into a gruel with oat meal, rice meal, boiled potatoes or maize meal.[143] The principle of economy was further to be pursued by diminishing first the number of meat days, then decreasing the quantity of meat, then both together (the quality of the meat to be steadily diminishing the while).

The same concern for economy manifested itself with respect to clothing. The cheapest material productive of warmth was to be used, all useless parts of garments (the brims of hats for example) were to be discarded and no stockings were to be worn in summer. All the clothing was to be of the same colour by way of a uniform. Bentham did consider the idea of his inmates wearing a badge and for this he was accused of degrading his paupers. Not so, he replied,

> Degrading a man is turning a man down from the class in which you find him, into another which is below it. The badge marks the class in which you find him, and there it leaves him. Degradation changes the class; badging indicates it only...leaving it unchanged. It indicates him as belonging to the lowest class - true - but why? because he does belong to it...[144]

He continued, with candour,

> The condition of the Pauper is in 19 instances at least out of 20 that of an idler...what harm it can do that the condition of the idler should be established as below the level of the condition of the man of industry...is more than I can see.[145]

However, he concluded that badging would not after all be necessary, since uniforms would serve the same function and

> Soldiers wear uniforms, why not paupers? - those who save the country, why not those who are saved by it?[146]

For all this care lavished on the poor Bentham was far from expecting any gratitude from the authorities, and certainly not from the recipients;

> ...from the disposition of the lowest order of the uneducated amongst mankind in any country especially in the southern division of our island nothing but the worst especially in a case like the present ought in prudence to be expected. For benefits conferred nothing ought to be looked for: for hardships imposed with whatever reluctance resentment ought to be regarded as certain.147

It is likely, though, that he must have derived considerable warmth from the contemplation of the Sunday Scene in the Houses with the

> Dome let down upon the Inspection Room. The Dome with the Pulpit Reading Desk, Clerk Seat and Communion Table and Officers Table let down upon the Inspection Room. The Galleries above the Dome for Visitors disclosed to view. The Circumferential Screens, composed of the Partitions bounding the Apartments for the Married Couples with their respective middle pieces put up all round. The Sleeping Stages lowered, two feet or more, so as not to exclude the lights - so as not to diminish the zone of light which will thus have its two feet of breadth throughout the whole of its circuit, the Officers division and the parts occupied by the Radial Walls excepted.148

Earlier reference has been made to Bentham's notion to employ gainfully all who were obliged to enter the Houses. This was to be achieved by offering a wide range of employment and by making it suitable for all the hands available. The aim was to be achieved in part by making the Houses as self-sufficient as they could be. If they had to be dependent on outside supplies, those should come, if possible, from another House. Unfortunately Bentham then proceeded to hedge this about with so many qualifications and restrictions as to render it virtually impossible to operate the Houses on a profitable basis, if indeed it ever had been possible. The following may serve as examples of these restrictions. First, those who had skills particularly in demand at time of war were not to exercise them more than two days out of six in peace time.[149] Second, in order so as not to displace independent workers who were gainfully employed, the work done in the Houses was not to compete with that done by the self maintaining poor or the latter would only end up by being pauperised and so become a burden themselves.[150] Third, the work that was done was not to be more than usually lucrative as this would serve only to increase the speculative nature of the enterprise and would need more capital.[151] (Bentham in fact found about twenty reasons for this prohibition). Fourth, the work done was to be clear of impropriety.[152] And there were several other considerations.[153]

The overall effect of these restrictions was to reduce the employment which could be undertaken to a few areas only: husbandry was the foremost among these.[154]

Bentham introduced Book Four (effectively the last of the Plan and the one that was not completed) with the following:

> We now stand upon proud ground. Having elsewhere plucked the mask from the visage of false charity, the arch enemy no less of comfort than of industry, let us take up true charity and seat her on her throne. Economy

> too shall have her day. But her place is but in the second rank. Charity is the end; economy but the means.[155]

In the name of charity Bentham went on to list a considerable number of "comforts" (not luxuries, but an absence of pain) which were to be extended to all inmates as a matter of course. These are good health, the probability of long life, security, hygiene, employment, comfortable nights, security from annoyance and oppression, entertainment, a clear conscience, seclusion from sin, the ability to be visited, tranquility and sobriety.

Those who were old and feeble derived extra benefits by being in the institution; they could participate easily in divine service, they enjoyed unparalleled opportunity for exercise, and they had suitable occupations. Those who were infirm and also the Deaf and Dumb enjoyed similar benefits. Extra comforts might be provided according to the claims, means and opportunities existing at the time. This is the only concession Bentham made with respect to private charity; it might supply such extra comforts.[156]

The apprentices, the lynch-pins of the scheme, received the same comforts as all other inmates. These served to raise them, in Bentham's estimation, above their peers outside the system since they were treated consistently,[157] (not being subject to the caprice or whims of parents), and they were free from oppression by their peers. This advantageous situation was due, at least in part, to the Instruction Principle. (See Appendix C). Bentham then went into detail as to why the apprentices would be better off than their fellows in the higher ranks of life.[158] First, they would enjoy "exemption from intellectual exercises of the most painful kind" (i.e., from having to learn languages, especially dead ones, by grammatical rules). Second, they would "enjoy the comforts of matrimony at the earliest period compatible with health". (See Appendix D). The female apprentices would enjoy a number of special comforts denied to their male counterparts; they would be secure from seduction, and they would be initiated into domestic duties and so prepared for marriage. Unfortunately, Bentham did not elaborate on this point.

Bentham's plan as published in the Annals finished at that point. However, it is clear from his manuscripts that Bentham expected all sections of the population to derive advantages from the Plan. The community at large would benefit since the Houses would provide a lead in agricultural experiments, they would help to diffuse knowledge of the art of domestic economy, and they would provide centres for experimentation in human behaviour. Extra benefits were to be lower taxes,[159] increased security, the provision of a moral example (of frugality and good economy) to the independent poor, and increased medical knowledge. The government stood to gain[160] by stamp duties, taxes on building materials sold, and by interest on capital.

Little wonder then that Bentham regarded this Plan as the "Magna Carta of National Charity"[161] providing as he claimed it did

> Against pain of all sorts, better security than is to be found in any existing situation, without exception.
>
> Desires not crossed but prevented: - obstacles not moral but physical; not terror but ignorance.
>
> Among enjoyments, the coarser, though more indispensable - (those which attend the satisfaction of the appetites of hunger and thirst) - purified - I mean from pains: the more exquisite - (for I speak of nothing that is not common to the species - nothing that is the peculiar fruit of extraculture in particular minds being to the purpose here:) - the more accelerated: - increased at the earliest and best stage, - at the stage at which their intensity is at the highest: - increased in the only way in which the mass of them is susceptible of being increased.[162]

On the positive side one has to look only at the multitude of collateral uses of the Houses of Industry and at Bentham's concern that the burden of maintaining the indigent should not fall on the already poor.[163] The national scale on which the scheme would operate to guarantee employment to all,[164] (on the condition that they came in), the safeguards Bentham proposed to ensure efficient and humane management[165] and the educational nature and purpose of the

Houses.[166] All testify to the humane and progressive nature of Bentham's scheme. The Many Use Principle,[167] the Cheapest Fare Principle,[168] the Earn First Principle,[169] the centrality of the Inspection Principle,[170] suggest a rigorous, but uniformly applied code, which may surprise ones sensibilities but which were not punitive. Other aspects of the Plan are perhaps a little more suspect, notably the reluctance on the part of the Company to discharge an inmate as soon as his account had been balanced since it stood to gain so much more from his continued labour within the House. (Consequently the items for which the pauper was to be held responsible, those recorded on the debit side of his account, were piled up to impressive proportions). Yet others, for example, Bentham's insistence that all were capable of some work might be regarded as either exploitive or rehabilitative according to how one wishes to think of them. The proposal to put children to work from the age of four years (with safeguards, of course, for their health and education) may also appear to be unnecessary to those who are accustomed to think of childhood as a care-free age with its own peculiar demands and rights. But is it that far from the de-schooled society in which children would learn their skills and attitudes whilst working alongside knowledgeable adults? In short, what is here suggested is that far from being "restrictive, punitive and illiberal"[171] as Himmelfarb suggests, Bentham's Plan was systematic, it was to be fairly applied, and it was motivated by a humane concern for an underprivileged and exploited group of people. Within a very clearly defined frame of reference of principles, with due consideration to what he considered to be other equally important considerations, namely the maintenance of property and security in the state, Bentham's plan was progressive.

Bentham's scheme to promote the National Charity Company is remarkable for four major reasons. The first of these is that whilst the whole venture was to be a private enterprise, it inferred a direct expression of Government responsibility for the indigent poor. Bentham established in unequivocal terms what henceforth became the basis of public conduct towards the dependent poor: that the legislator had a responsibility towards them to relieve their condition. The second is that that responsibility had to be exercised in accordance with a clearly enunciated principle, that of Utility. The third is that the National Charity Company was conceived primarily with an educational purpose in mind. It was to be a vehicle for promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number through formal instruction and informal education. It was not solely a means to make a profit for its shareholders. The fourth reason is that it conceived of the working out of a solution to a social problem by means of education in an institutionalised setting. The ad hoc response to the problem of the indigent poor was henceforth unacceptable.

These same strands of Bentham's thought recur throughout his total response to the problem posed by the poor. The same concerns and the same conceptual framework can be clearly seen in his other proposals to deal with similar problems. These schemes will form the subject of the three succeeding chapters of this study. That they should is not surprising. All the institutions Bentham proposed had their own specific purpose in view and to that extent they are separate. But with the same elements recurring in the same conceptual structure it becomes clear that the separate institutions form part of a composite whole. This unity of response will start to become clear with the Panopticon Scheme which forms the principal subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 3 - Footnotes

1. Marshall, J.D. The Old Poor Law 1795-1834. London, 1968, Macmillan, p. 23.

2. Taylor, G. The Problem of Poverty 1660-1834, London, 1969, Longmans, p. 12.

3. Ibid., p. 12.

4. Whilst not all apprentices were paupers, many pauper children were apprentices.

5. The Factory Act, 1833; the Mines and Collieries Act, 1842; the Factory Act, 1844; the Ten Hours Act, 1847; the Coal Mines Inspection Act, 1850 are but a few examples.

6. Bentham, J. Bentham Manuscripts, University College, London; Essay I, II (complete), 152a, 1-68. Essay III (incomplete), 152a, 69-195. Essay III (complete), 152a, 196-218, also Essays I, II, III (complete) 153a, 1-54. Essay II, 153a, 55-77.

7. The first is in Volume 29, Issue 167, pp. 393-426 and constitutes an appeal by Bentham for information on the poor under a number of detailed headings. The Outline of a Work Entitled Pauper Management Improved followed in Vol. 30, Issue 169, pp 89-176; Vol. 30, Issue 171, pp 241-296; Vol. 30, Issue 172, pp 393-424; Vol. 30, Issue 173, pp 457-504; Vol. 31, Issue 174, pp 33-64; Vol. 31, Issue 175, pp 169-200; and Vol. 31, Issue 176, pp 273-288. After this last contribution is printed "To be continued", though it never was since the contributions of the public were not forthcoming and Bentham's contributions on this subject to the Annals stopped at Book IV, Section 6 of the Plan instead of the original projection of six books.

8. The proposal, by Pitt, to provide recipients with enough money to purchase a cow.

9. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., 152b, 353.

10. Ibid. 152a, 7.

11. Ibid. MSS, U.C.L., Box 151, 8.

12. Ibid. Box 151, 115.

13. Ibid. 151, 116.

14. Ibid. 151, 117.

15. Ibid. 151, 7b.

16. Ibid. 151, 1.

17. Ibid. 151, 1.

18. Ibid. 151, 16.

19. Ibid. 153a, 86.

20. Ibid. 153a, 87.

21. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., Box 151, 202, 205-207.

22. Ibid. 151, Folder 7.

23. Ibid. 152a, 51, 226.

24. Ibid. 152b, 308.

25. This would take place through such items as loans offices, savings banks, remittance banks and poor men's banks, and through theprovision of cheap food and lodgings for those in search of work together with medical services and dispensaries for all. MSS, U.C.L., 152a, 98-104.

26. Ibid. 152a, 235.

27. Ibid. 152a, 168.

28. Bentham, J. At that time Bentham's voice was raised, alone, in defence of animals which were cruelly treated. MSS, U.C.L., CIX, 328.

29. This non ambiguity which though Dr. Himmelfarb is aware of she does not resolve. It continues to bedevil her discussion of the progressive nature of Bentham's plan. On page 114 of her article, Dr. Himmelfarb defines "progressive" as being "an improvement over the existing system of poor relief - more humane, liberal, meliorative, benevolent." So far so good. However, on page 117 she condemns the plan as

"regressive" because the attitudes it embodies are those of an earlier period in time. On page 121 she returns to this theme by contrasting the "literal, historical, or Marxist sense" of the word with the "moral sense" of it, with its connotations of liberality, generosity, enlightenment, humanity and "whatever else is normally implied by progressive" than the previous course.

30. This was the practice of hiring out the poor so that managers would profit.

31. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., Box 152a, 193.

32. Ibid. 151, 145.

33. Ibid. 152a, 253.

34. Ibid. 151, 225.

35. Ibid. 151, 241.

36. Ibid. 151, 241.

37. Ibid. 151, 246.

38. Ibid. 152b, 389.

39. Ibid. 152b, 390.

40. Ibid. 152b, 391.

41. Ibid. 152b, 392.

42. Ibid. 152b, 397.

43. Ibid. 152b, 390.

44. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., Box 152b, 400.

45. Ibid. 149, 88.

46. Ibid. 149, 92.

47. Ibid. 151, 284.

48. Bentham, J. Annals of Agriculture, A. Young, Vol. 30, p. 268/9.

49. Ibid. 133, 101.

50. Ibid. 133, 101.

51. Ibid. 153a, 123.

52. Ibid. 149, 92.

53. Ibid. 154a, 57/58.

54. Ibid. 154a, 59.

55. Ibid. 154a, 161.

56. Ibid. 154a, 162.

57. Ibid. Boxes 151, 152a, 152b, 153a, 153b, 154a, 154b.

58. The first deals with political arrangements, the second with a Plan of Management, the third with Collateral Benefits, the fourth with Pauper Comforts, and the fifth with a Defence of the Constitution of the Plan. All were to have been published in the *Annals of Agriculture* but due to a lack of response on the part of the readers of that journal, Bentham abandoned the project part of the way through Book Four.

59. Ibid. 152b, 370.

60. Ibid. 152b, 436.

61. Ibid. 152b, 434.

62. Ibid. 152b, 434/5.

63. Ibid. 151, 325.

64. Ibid. 153b, 267.

65. Ibid. 153b, 269.

66. Ibid. 153b, 274.

67. Ibid. 153b, 280.

68. Ibid. 151, 325.

69. Ibid. 154a, 14.

70. Ibid. 154a, 15.

71. Bentham, J. The Annals of Agriculture, ed. Young, A.

72. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., Box 154a, 16/17.

73. Ibid. 154a, 17.

74. Ibid. 154a, 18.

75. Ibid. 154a, 19/20.

76. Ibid. 154a, 21. The Company undertook to provide financial, medical, maritime and promulgatory services to those who were contracted to it so that extra services of a type not normally available to paupers would be at their disposition.

77. Ibid. 154a, 22.

78. Ibid. 152b, 283.

79. Ibid. 153a, 203.

80. Ibid. 152b, 300.

81. Ibid. 152b, 303. Extraneous hands were those who had had experience of the outside world by having been born outside the House. The "indigenous stock" were those who had been born in the Houses or who had been brought into them at a very young age.

82. Ibid. 152b, 302.

83. Ibid. 152b, 299.

84. Bentham also referred to it by a variety of other names, including the Panopticon Architecture Principle, the Simultaneous Inspection Principle, and the Central Inspection Principle.

85. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., Box 153a, 144.

86. Ibid. 151, 451.

87. Ibid. 151, 405.

88. Ibid. 151, 408-420.

89. Ibid. 151, 239-241.

90. Ibid. 151, 422.

91. Ibid. 152b, 358.

92. Ibid. 151, 402.

93. Ibid. 151, 406/7.

94. Ibid. The Annals of Agriculture, A. Young (ed), Vol. 30, pp. 115-127.

95. Ibid. p. 118.

96. Ibid. p. 118-119.

97. Ibid. p. 120.

98. See Appendix A .

99. Bentham, J. The Annals of Agriculture, A. Young (ed), Vol. 30, p. 123.

100. Ibid. p. 128.

101. Ibid. pp. 137-139.

102. Ibid. p. 139.

103. Ibid. MSS, U.C.L., Box 153a, 146.

104. Ibid. 153a, 154.

105. Ibid. Annals of Agriculture, A. Young (ed), Vol. 30, p. 145.

106. Ibid. MSS, U.C.L., Box 151, 203.

107. Ibid. 151, 203.

108. Ibid. 151, 205.

109. Ibid. 151, 206.

110. Ibid. 151, 477.

111. Ibid. 151, 478.

112. Ibid. 153b, 413.

113. Ibid. 153a, 173.

114. Ibid. 153a, 165.

115. Ibid. 153a, 169.

116. Ibid. 153a, 170.

117. Ibid. 153a, 189.

118. Ibid. 153a, 190.

119. Ibid. 153a, 191.

120. Ibid. 153a, 194.

121. Ibid. 153a, 197.

122. Ibid. 153a, 199.

123. Ibid. 151, 284.

124. Ibid. 151, 285.

125. Ibid. The Annals of Agriculture, A. Young (ed), Vol. 30, pp. 159-160.

126. Ibid. MSS, U.C.L., Box 152b, 345.

127. Ibid. 152b, 335.

128. Richard Burn, the author of the influential History of the Poor Laws.

129. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., Box 152b, 335.

130. Ibid. 152b, 343.

131. Ibid. 152b, 348.

132. Ibid. 152b, 349.

133. Ibid. Annals of Agriculture, A. Young (ed), Vol. 30, p. 163.

134. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., Box 152b, 309.

135. Ibid. 152b, 307.

136. Ibid. 152b, 313.

137. Ibid. Annals of Agriculture, A. Young (ed), Vol. 30, p. 167.

138. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., Box 152b, 312.

139. Ibid. 152b, 308.

140. Ibid. Annals of Agriculture, A. Young (ed), Vol. 30, p. 165.

141. Ibid. p. 168.

142. Ibid. p. 169.

143. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., Box 133, 14.

144. Ibid. 152b, 352.

145. Ibid. 152b, 353.

146. Ibid. Annals of Agriculture, A. Young (ed), Vol. 30, p. 176.

147. Ibid. MSS, U.C.L., Box 152a, 4.

148. Ibid. 151, 452.

149. Ibid. Annals of Agriculture, A. Young (ed), Vol. 30, p. 243.

150. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., Box 133, 5.

151. Ibid. 133, 6.

152. Ibid. 133, 7.

153. Ibid. 133, 5-7.

154. Ibid. 133, 3.

155. Ibid. Annals of Agriculture, A. Young (ed), Vol. 31, p. 177.

156. Ibid. p. 196-198.

157. Ibid. p. 274.

158. Ibid. p. 267-287.

159. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., Box 153b, 338.

160. Ibid. 153b, 340.

161. Ibid. 153a, 175.

162. Bentham, J. Annals of Agriculture, A. Young (ed), Vol. 31, p. 287.

163. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., Box 151, 16.

164. Ibid. 151, 152; 154a, 18.

165. Ibid. 151, 311/2; 153a, 154; 153a, 146-9.

166. Ibid. 151, 1e.

167. Ibid. 153a, 194-7, 200.

168. Ibid. 153a, 189.

169. Ibid. 153a, 173.

170. Ibid. 151, 350-2.

171. In using this phrase Dr. Himmelfarb applies it to the post 1834 Poor Law, but she obviously has in the forefront of her mind Bentham's influence on it by means of his own ideas on Poor Law Provision, hence her reference to: "the particular innovations of the new law which bear the most striking resemblance to Bentham's plan...were precisely those features of the law which have been most bitterly condemned as harsh and punitive."

Chapter 4

Panopticon:
The Poor and the
Problem of Crime

> Panopticon...a mill for grinding rogues honest, and idle men industrious.
>
> Bentham

The extent of pauperism and indigence and the belief that it was widespread in eighteenth century England constituted a nuisance and an expense to the propertied and "respectable" members of society. As a social problem it was rivalled only by crime which became particularly acute in the 1790's and the early years of the nineteenth century.

It is difficult to be precise as to the actual extent of crime in the 1790's due to the lack of reliable statistical evidence. That which does exist tends to indicate a great variation in the incidence of crime from one area to another. Thomas Plint[1] states that in 1801 in Cumberland (which had the lowest crime rate of all the English counties) there were fifteen crimes committed per 100,000 of the population, though he does not indicate what type of crimes these were. At the same time, in Middlesex, there were 148 per 100,000. If Plint's figures are accurate it would appear that there were indeed considerable variations in crime rates. By 1820 the figures for Cumberland and Middlesex were, respectively, 34 and 248, which suggests that the incidence of crime was on the increase in overall terms. What appears equally true is that the extreme severity of the punishments handed out to those who were caught and charged was no deterrent.

Given the complexity and extent of the criminal code in the late 18th century it is not surprising that the variety of the crimes committed is as wide as it was. When so many acts were classified as criminal offences of a serious nature (petty theft, robbing pensioners, etc.) it is hardly surprising that so many people transgressed. Murder was apparently less frequent than it is today, though robbery with or without violence was common in the towns. Picking pockets, stealing money and animals, highway robbery, assault and robbery as well as petty theft are the most common amongst the crimes which are referred to in the literature.[2]

The methods which society employed to combat the high incidence of crime were largely ineffective. The system was implemented then, as now, by unpaid amateurs such as the gentry and the squirearchy. This being so the punishments imposed varied considerably from place to place and from person to person. Such inconsistency was an invitation to commit crime as was the almost total absence, outside of the capital city, of any police force worthy of the name. Master Dogberry and the members of his watch in Much Ado About Nothing provide an only slightly caricatured representation of contemporary law enforcement.

Basically, there was no "system" of law enforcement in 18th century England. Due to the absence of any reliable police force many of the crimes that were committed went unpunished. However, those miscreants who were apprehended were treated with a great deal of severity under a code which made no attempt to match the severity of the punishment with the gravity of the offence. The death penalty could be imposed for over 250 offences ranging from theft of five shillings from a shop, to regicide. For those criminals who managed to escape that utmost punishment (and there were a considerable number of these since judges and juries hesitated to bring in guilty verdicts because of the severity of the punishment they would then be obliged to impose) there were three common forms of punishment.

The first of these was the prison. Here, no attempt was made to segregate prisoners on the basis of age or offence committed. Those who had the means could buy extra services such as better food, clothing and accommodation. In addition they were able to provide the gratuity for their guards which was a necessary precondition of their release. Those who lacked such financial means had a thin time of it indeed. As a result the prisons fostered a degree of human degradation and baseness of an almost unimaginable proportion. As reforming institutions they were wholly unsuccessful whilst as academies for the teaching of crime they enjoyed an almost unparalleled success.

The second form of punishment was transportation to a penal colony, first of all in America and, after the War of Independence, in the Antipodes. Violence and brutality were, here the norms. The accounts left by George and James Loveless and their fellow Tolpuddle Martyrs, and by Marcus Clarke,[3] provide eloquent testimony of this.

The third, and perhaps most terrible of all punishments, were the prison hulks. These were retired and rotting battleships anchored off such towns as Woolwich, Deptford, Portsmouth and Plymouth. They had been introduced as floating prisons after the loss of the American colonies had deprived the British government of their use as penal colonies. One literate prisoner, James Hardy Vaux, who had been in the hulks has left the following impression of them:[4]

> Of all the shocking scenes I had ever beheld, this was the most distressing. There were confined in this floating dungeon nearly six hundred men, most of them double-ironed; and the reader may conceive of the horrible effects arising from the continual rattle of chains, the filth and vermin naturally produced by such a crew of miserable inhabitants, the oaths and execrations constantly heard among them...Nothing short of a descent into the infernal regions can be at all worthy of comparison with it...All former friendships or connections are here dissolved, and a man will rob his best benefactor or even messmate, of an article worth one halfpenny. The guards were commonly of the lowest class of human beings; wretches devoid of all feelings; ignorant in the extreme, brutal by nature, and rendered more tyrannical and cruel by consciousness of the power they possess. No others but such as I described would hold the situation...They invariably carry ponderous sticks with which, without the smallest provocation, they will fell an unfortunate convict to the ground, and frequently repeat

> their blows long after the poor sufferer is insensible...The water in which the beef was boiled is thickened with barley, and forms a mess called "smiggens"...The cheese is commonly bad...The beef generally consists of old bulls, or cows which have died of age or famine.

The prisoners were chained in overcrowded conditions. The newcomers were normally committed to the lowest deck where the bilge water slopped constantly and the only company a prisoner might expect were the rats. Punishment by guards was frequent and arbitrary whilst epidemics of cholera and dysentry were a regular occurrence. The hulks provide a universally fine example of "man's inhumanity to man".

The severity of punishment and the means of inflicting it resulted in its being generally ineffective. It did not deter, it simply made men desperate. If the punishment for petty theft was the same as for large scale robbery there was no reason to content oneself with the lesser crime. Only the humane voices of Bentham, Elizabeth Fry, and John Howard, were raised against this vicious and degrading system which punished harshly without attempting to reform. Ultimately their opinions were listened to, and gaol was made a humane if not exactly pleasant experience, but this reformation took a considerable time to achieve, and in the meantime prison conditions remained unimaginable.

In the 18th century, as now, there was a strong connection between crime (particularly violent crime) and poverty. The phenomenon of "white collar crime" is a more recent aberration of this general theme. It is easy to see why there would be a connection between the two. Apart from crimes such as murder (which is most often committed as an act of passion) most men are driven to crime through need. Financial hardship, coupled with poor living conditions, scarcity of food, and actual or threatened unemployment, provides the strain on an individual which he may only be able to relieve through criminal activity. Such constraints bear upon the poor to a much greater extent than on the more fortunate elements in society. Hence the connection between poverty and crime.

Jeremy Bentham's interest in the relationship between crime and poverty was due to his humane feelings and his legal background. As a humane person motivated by the Greatest Happiness Principle he could not stand idly by and watch the progressive degradation of his fellow men. As a law reformer he was concerned that the law as it was presently constituted had a vitiating effect on men. This consideration had provided the spur to his confrontation with Blackstone which had launched him into the field of legal reform to begin with.

If Bentham's legal background had provided the initial impetus to his interest in the problem of crime his dissatisfaction with contemporary solutions furnished the reason for its continuance. Bentham believed that the nature and extent of punishment should be related to the crime for which it was being imposed. He also believed that men were sent to prison as a punishment not for punishment when they got there. Consequently, society was obliged to treat prisoners in a humane fashion and to attempt to reform them rather than to confirm them in their criminal ways.

Bentham's philosophical training provided the reason for his interset in the theory of crime and punishment which he developed in The Introduction To the Principles of Morals and Legislation and in Of Laws In General. Hence, Bentham's interest in poverty and its connection with crime was motivated by his legal background, his dissatisfaction with contemporary responses to it, and by his interest in the theory of crime and punishment.

It was in his Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation, written between 1776 and 1779, that Bentham first addressed himself to a consideration of punishment. He assumed that the general object of all laws was to prevent mischief and that the legislator who was guided by the Principle of Utility would find himself bound by four subordinate objects in the pursuit of this general object. These subordinate objectives he referred to in the following terms (referring them to the objectives of the legislator);

> 3(1) His first, most extensive, and most eligible object is to prevent, in as far as it is possible, and worth while, all sorts of offences whatsoever: in other words, so to manage, that no offence whatsoever may be committed.
>
> 4(2) But if a man must needs commit an offence of some kind or other, the next object is to induce him to commit an offence less mischievous, rather than one more mischievous: in other words, to choose always the least mischievous, of two offences that will either of them suit his purpose.
>
> 5(3) When a man has resolved upon a particular offence the next object is to dispose him to do no more mischief than is necessary to his purpose: in other words, to do as little mischief as is consistent with the benefit he has in view.
>
> 6(4) The last object is, whatever the mischief be, which it is proposed to prevent, to prevent it at as cheap a rate as possible.[5]

It is seen, therefore, that at a very early stage Bentham introduced a very practical consideration - that of economy - into an otherwise wholly theoretical consideration of the purpose of punishment.

The pursuit of these four subsidiary objects led Bentham to formulate a code of rules which would govern the degree of punishment in relation to the offence for which it was being imposed. The code consisted of thirteen rules and began with the stipulation that

> The value of the punishment must not be less in any case than that which is sufficient to outweigh that of the profit of the offence.[6]

It concluded with a dispensation to ignore small disproportions in the circumstances attending an offence where it was not possible to calculate them accurately. The code was complemented by another list of eleven items,[7] this time of the properties to be given to an act of punishment. Bentham's conclusion was that

> Upon taking a survey of the various modes of punishment, it will appear evident that there is not any one of them that possesses all the above properties in perfection. To do the best that can be done in the way of punishment it will, therefore, be necessary upon most occasions to compound them, and make them into complex lots, each consisting of a number of different modes of punishments put together; the nature and proportions of the constituent parts of each lot being different, according to the nature of the offence which it is designed to combat.[8]

To summarize, Bentham's first concern was, therefore, that punishment should actively prevent further offences by removing the offender and by reforming him if possible; that this should be achieved at as cheap a rate as possible; that crime be rendered unprofitable, and that the punishment inflicted should be suitable, just, and humane. Bentham was already formulating those thoughts which came to later maturity in the Panopticon scheme.

These views are also noticeable in Bentham's Letters (to Lord Pelham) published together as Panopticon versus New South Wales. The letters were printed in 1803 at the time when Bentham was still actively pressuring the Government to proceed with the Panopticon scheme. In the first of them Bentham dwelt on the subject of transportation, which was widely touted as the preferable alternative to Panopticon in view of the improved state of New South Wales. Here Bentham postulated five ends for penal justice. The first was the prevention of similar crimes to the one already committed. The second was the reformation of the criminal. The third was to prevent him from repeating the same crime. The fourth was to provide compensation for the victim. The last was to do all of these in the most economical way possible. All of them had earlier been enunciated in An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation.

Bentham's view was that transportation served none of these ends. First, it removed the criminals from the public view.[9] (Bentham always regarded publicity as an effective guarantee of legality. It was, of course, a prime feature of Panopticon). Second, it was incapable of reforming, for the same reason.[10] Third, it prevented the crime from being repeated only in the same place, and besides, too many of the transportees escaped from New South Wales only to return to England to "inflict their mother country a second time with their pernicious existence."[11] Fourth, it permitted no compensation to the victim since the criminal was half a world away. Finally, it was unbearably expensive. (Bentham calculated that it cost £46"7"9¼d per year to keep a prisoner in New South Wales. He reckoned he could do the same in Panopticon for a mere £13"11"0d). Imprisonment was, therefore, the most efficacious form of punishment. But gaols as they existed were evil institutions which served only to make criminals more competent in their trade. Bentham, therefore, concluded that they needed to be completely reformed.

Elsewhere in his manuscripts, Bentham enlarged further on this question of penal reform. First of all he considered that the question had received too little attention. Second, he believed that

> it will be found...that on this subject the ideas of men in general are apt to be rather vague and that their expectations of what is to be done in this way are commonly too sanguine and chimerical.12

Third, he believed that what attention had been given to the matter was apt to be quite unrealistic in its expectations -

> ...What the philosopher's stone is to the Chymist, what the universal panacea is to the Physician, the idea of I know not what brilliant institution by which crimes of all sorts are to be prevented is to the imagination and the wishes of the benevolent moralist and Politician. They seem to suppose that in some odd corner of the storehouse of possibilities there is a method by which, were human sagacity or genius or industry fortunate enough to find it out, crimes might be prevented without the expense of punishment as others have seemed to think that natural debts might be paid off without the expense of money...13

Bentham realized that such a situation was totally impossible and that realism dictated that a more expedient solution ought to be found. Hence, he turned to a consideration of how gaols might be made more humane, more efficacious, and less costly.

Writing in 1778, Bentham recognized that whilst institutions might differ in some respects they

> ...must have one or other of the following purposes for their object
>
> 1 To prevent a man's entertaining the wish to do the act. (i.e., criminal act).
> 2 To destroy or diminish the power or facility he may have of doing it, or in other words to increase the difficulty he may find in doing it.
> 3 To prevent or palliate the mischief of it when done.14

He then set out to design in detail just such an institution consonant with the realization that

> it is evident enough with regard to any offence whatsoever that any expedients by which the progress of it can be checked without the expense of punishment are better than any which consist in punishment: that physical ones are much better than moral ones to set up against an offence, and that it is much better to make an offence more difficult to commit than it was before, than it is to leave it as easy as it was before and render it more penal. Measures of the former kind are oftentimes more efficacious and they are sure to be less expensive.15

Bentham further suggested that often mischief and punishment could be prevented much more cheaply by instruction. Bentham always thought of both the Houses of Industry and his model prison as educational institutions. Crime could there be prevented by

> informing the understanding, as well as by exercising an immediate influence on the will. This seems to be the case with respect to all those offences which consist in the disseminating pernicious principles in matters of duty; of whatever kind be; whether political, or moral, or religious. And this, whether such principles be disseminated under, or even without, a sincere persuasion of their being beneficial.[16]

To design such a model prison and to elaborate upon the "education" it was expected to provide was a work to which Jeremy Bentham devoted a considerable portion of his life, his energies, and his own financial resources.

The decade of the 1770's was one in which a great deal of public discussion centred on the question of prison reform. Howard, Eden, and Blackstone all produced plans for this, as of course did Bentham. The debate was sharpened when the American War of Independence brought to a halt the practice of transporting convicts to penal colonies there. As a temporary expedient in this circumstance the government initiated the system of hulks. The genesis of Bentham's own scheme thus lies in the decade between 1770 and 1780. In 1779 the government had passed a Penitentiary Act based on a Bill of the previous year. This was the same one that Bentham had commented on in his View of the Hard Labour Bill. But the plans stagnated and the government returned to the idea of transportation, this time to the Antipodes. At this point a convenient dividing line occurs.

In 1785 Bentham had begun one of his rare journeys abroad. This time to Russia, to see his brother, Samuel, who had taken a post as Conseiller de la Cour at St. Petersburg. By the time that Jeremy arrived, Samuel had moved to Krichev in the Crimea. The original Inspection House idea had occurred to Samuel Bentham, and Jeremy first made reference to it in a letter to Charles Brown, which he wrote from Russia in December, 1786. The following is the relevant part of that letter:

> ...My brother has hit upon a very singular new and I think important/though simple/idea in Architecture which is the subject of a course of letters I have just finished for my father which it is not improbable may find their way to the press. This you will say belongs more to the head of the dulce than the utile. Another that I may hope will come under both heads as well as under that of honestum is a new and very strange idea...(that) we call an Inspection House (this is) a building so contrived that any number of persons may therein be kept in such a situation as either to be, or what comes nearly to the same thing to seem to themselves to be, constantly under the eye of a person or persons occupying a station in the centre which we call the Inspector's Lodge. You will be surprised when you come to see the efficacy which this simple and seemingly obvious contrivance promises to the business of schools, manufacturies, Prisons, and even Hospitals...[17]

In April 1787 Bentham followed this up with the following letter to the Prime Minister (in which he drew Pitt's attention to the idea and offered his services to put it into operation);

> Sir,
>
> I suppose you may have received before now a/printed/copy of my Brother's letters on the subject of a particular kind of building contrived by me for the purpose of keeping persons on any description under the eye of an Inspector. Lest you should not, I have directed another copy to accompany this letter.
>
> Since then my Brother's idea of the advantage with which the principle might be applied to Penitentiary-houses or other prisons, an application which/otherwise/would hardly have attracted my attention has so far operated on my mind, that if any such use should be thought of it being made in England, I could almost wish to lend my hand to the accomplishment of such a business.
>
> /If I do not deceive myself/the reception given to some late successful projects seems to hold out to the nation/a general assurance/ that while power remains in the heads it is in at the present, novelty will not be a conclusive object to any plan which appears to have utility to recommend it. If in your judgement this of mind comes/should come/ under that description, and it appears/should appear/to you that, as to so much of it as relates to the disposal of convicts,/the execution of it would stand any the better chance of putting my own pretty sanguine conceptions to the test of experience, would be a powerful temptation to me to engage in an undertaking, of which, if crowned with success, the utility might be rendered so extensive...18

At the same time Bentham wrote a series of letters to Lord Pelham on penal reform. Five years later, in 1791, these were published together with the recently completed Panopticon idea and the whole formed the basis of a formal proposal to the Government that the scheme be initiated.

In this connection Bentham wrote to Pitt again in 1791[19] setting out his own undertakings. These included the following: to supply food and clothing, beds and bedding, and heat and light. He also undertook to supply the inmates with profitable labour, to reform them by means of education, and to provide the guarantee of public inspection, "providing thereby a system of inspection, free and gratuitous, the most effectual and permanent of all securities against abuse."[20] To this he appended a note to the effect that the hulks were not open to inspection so they were suspect and that "the best friend to innocence I know of is open and speedy justice."[21] The formal proposal[22] was approved by Pitt's Government, though not in writing. Meanwhile Bentham was lamenting that the implementation of the plan was slow due to the expense involved.[23] He consequently wrote to Pitt again promising that he was

> ...now ready to execute the plan stated in that proposal at an expense per man less by 25% than that of the Hulk system; taking on myself all the expense of building, and that without any advance to be made by Government for that purpose.[24]

Unfortunately the War against France intervened, in 1793. This was probably the single most unfortunate blow that Bentham sustained in the whole matter. During, and after it, things were never on the same footing. Bentham steadfastly continued to believe that as the 1779 Act was still in effect his scheme would be covered by it. Unfortunately, the Government believed otherwise. In addition, Bentham was subjected to considerable outside pressure, including some from the Church.[25]

The upshot of this new government resolve was the Penitentiary Act of 1794 which provided Bentham with ₤2,000 to begin the project. It also provided some much needed encouragement, as the following excerpt from a letter to his brother Samuel indicates;

> Well - after all - the Bill is passed - praised be the Lord therefore! Yea, the Bill, the very botched Bill, botched by the Lords, has passed the Commons, and by them been sent up to the Lords, there to receive the sacred touch of the Royal sceptre...[26]

The site that had been settled on was one at Battersea. Unfortunately, Lord Spence owned an estate there and did not enjoy the prospect of having criminals for his neighbours. He opposed the scheme with considerable success.[27] Bentham looked elsewhere for a site, spending some ₤10,000 of his own money on the scheme before realizing that Spence had no intention of selling, whereupon he composed, but did not send, the following letter to Dundas:

> Sir,
>
> The attention you have been pleased to bestow hitherto upon the Panopticon Plan has produced no other effect than the ruin of the proposer: it is time already if it can ever be that it should meet with a different fate... My situation is that of an injured man; my language can be of no other...my brother

> ruined, my future wasted, my spirits sunk, my health consuming; these are the fruits of the visit with which you have honoured me...[28]

The alternative site, at Tothill, now encountered opposition (this time from Lord Grosvenor) and so the matter dragged on into 1798 when Bentham adopted a new tactic. This was to muster official support via his step-brother, Charles Abbot, who had recently been appointed Chairman of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Finance. The Committee's Report was favourable to Bentham's scheme; indeed, it would have been surprising if it had not been since Bentham wrote it.[29]

Once again Bentham was optimistic. Again his optimism was short lived. By the end of 1798 the opposition of the Church of England (which owned land at Tothill) was successful, and Bentham was obliged to buy the greater part of yet another site from Lord Salisbury, at Millbank. Once again the Government reneged; it decided it would not ratify the agreement until after the acquisition of the deeds. So began a ten year struggle on Bentham's part. In addition, the opposition of Lord Spence now "in" as part of the Portland Whigs, continued steadfast, and Lord Spence was committed to the notion of transportation.

Now began an extended operation of subterfuge and deceit in which the government constantly left Bentham in ignorance of its intentions and in which it deliberately obstructed him. First it denied him the funds to buy out Lord Salisbury's tenants at Millbank and so acquire the whole site. Second, it said Bentham must prepare to accommodate twice the number of prisoners anticipated so that he had to prepare a completely new set of estimates; it then reduced this number again. Even Bentham began now to doubt the seriousness of government intentions. In 1801 the Treasury Minute (which instructed the Secretary to write to Bentham to inquire into the acceptability of 500 persons instead of 1000) spelled the official end of Panopticon.

Bentham, of course, was bitterly disappointed that the scheme which had occupied his attention for fifteen years and on which he had placed such great hopes was now at an end. By 1801 he was reconciled to this, though he continued to press his claims for compensation. Between 1801 and 1820 he was subject to intermittent harrassment by the Government on details of the financial arrangements pertaining to the Panopticon; explanations were required, delays were requested, further explanations were needed. Government committees accepted explanations and then changed their minds. In 1813 he was finally awarded £23,000 compensation (he had claimed £170,000), but the matter of the £12,000 originally awarded him in 1794 was not finally settled until 1820.

Certainly amongst the most interesting results to come out of the Panopticon affair, on a long term basis, were the explanations as to why it was dropped. Bentham furnished four accounts at different times; one in 1802, a second in 1804, a third in 1821, and the last in 1830.[30] In most of these Bentham placed the blame for the lack of implementation on opposition to him at Court. The most direct statement of Bentham's case is contained in the History of the War Between Jeremy Bentham and George the Third by One of the Belligerents (1830). Since the authorship is unlikely to have been that of the King, one may conclude that it was Bentham who wrote that

> Never does the current of my thoughts alight upon the Panopticon and its fate, but my heart sinks within me; upon the Panopticon in both its branches, - the prisoner branch and the pauper branch: upon what they are now and what they ought to have been, and what would have been, had any other king than this same George the Third been in those days on the throne.[31]

It is obvious that Bentham's involvement with the Panopticon scheme was a deep and personal one. Equally, it is apparent that it was no mere and passing fancy but an experience which by its duration and intensity was to leave a lasting impression on his mind and the development of his subsequent thought. This is an aspect which will be dealt with presently. Suffice it for the moment to quote Bentham's later feelings when he wrote

> I do not like to look upon Panopticon Papers. It is like opening a drawer where devils are locked up - it is breaking into a haunted house.[32]

Even today Bentham's interest in penology and penitentiaries is a subject of controversy. His critics, for example, have accused him to selfish interest and power seeking. Foremost amongst such critics have been Drs. Himmelfarb (principally in her article, "The Haunted House of Jeremy Bentham"),[33] and Bader.[34]

The thrust of Dr. Himmelfarb's article is that Bentham's extended involvement with the Panopticon[35] project amounts to nothing less than an obsession in which the contract manager, the pivotal point of the whole scheme, is Bentham's alter ego and that Bentham identified himself with the scheme because of the financial advantages which he expected from it[36] and because he sought personal power over the inmates. In the latter case all power was to be vested in the contractor, and that contractor was to be Bentham himself. Consequently, "...what emerges is more and more a travesty of the model prison, and the model reformer,"[37] and a cheap travesty at that. What Dr. Himmelfarb is suggesting is that whatever sensibilities Bentham may have had they were subservient to those of his own financial advantage.

Bader agrees that Bentham was seeking unlimited personal power. He suggests that the Panopticon principle was made all-embracing and uniformly versatile, deliberately capable of universal application, in order to maximise the hermit Bentham's personal lust for power. This was a need, he alleges, that had to be satisfied in order to compensate for the fact the world had consistently shunned such a legislative genius and had steadfastly refused to recognize his talents.[38]

There is a high degree of similarity between the architectural and theoretical principles of the Houses of Industry and the Panopticon. In both of them there is widespread employment of the Inspection Principle, the aim of financially profitable exploitation of labour, a reliance on private ownership and management, the employment of contract management, a reliance on public scrutiny as a guarantee against corruption, a concern for economy in all matters, an appreciation of the importance of health and exercise, a common reluctance to discharge inmates whose labour was still capable of being commercially exploited, and an important and obvious educational purpose in both establishments in conjunction with the Principle of Utility. So many are the points of similarity in terms of organization, design,[39] and principle that it is not necessary to describe them at length a second time. It is proposed, therefore, to move directly to a consideration of the specifically educational function of the penitentiary houses.

For Bentham, the Panopticon was in every way as educational in purpose as any formal school. The basic "Principle of Construction", as the title page of the plan indicates, is applicable to "any sort of establishment in which persons of any description are to be kept under inspection including amongst others mad-houses, lazarettos and schools." The Inspection Principle did more than merely facilitate observation; it also permitted the bringing to bear of influence designed to shape the recipient in a way pre-ordained by the observer or manipulator. Hence it was for Bentham "a great and new invented instrument of government"[40] and virtually any end could be attained through it, as through any other vehicle of education.

The sort of power which the Panopticon idea confers is a pedagogical power, the power to shape minds. This is particularly relevant when one considers that for Bentham an important component of education was the sum total of an individual's experiences. Since there would be individuals still in their minority in the Panopticon, it would be for them a school in all senses of the word, and one of its major aims was their reformation by bringing to bear on them influences which Bentham regarded as beneficial. In other words, Bentham's aim was a process of moral re-education, coupled with formal learning. Bentham made this intention clear in the proposals he submitted to the Government in 1791; he intended, he said,

> To convert the prison into a school, and by an extended application of the principle of the Sunday Schools to return its inhabitants into the world instructed, at least as well as in an ordinary school, in the common and most useful branches of vulgar learning...[41]

In the printed version of these proposals he also added the following, "...as well as in some trade or occupation, whereby they may afterwards earn their livelihood."[42]

For Bentham education was part formal instruction and part the right sort of environment, and in the Panopticon both were capable of being realised. In the Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation written many years before he came to the Panopticon idea, Bentham had set down his belief that the influence of education was extensive. In the Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation Bentham[43] had contended that education could be divided into physical and mental components, the latter being further sub-divisible into the intellectual and moral spheres. Bentham then went on to point out that

> the education a man receives, is given to him partly by others, partly by himself. By education then nothing more can be expressed than the condition a man is in in respect of those primary circumstances, as resulting partly from the management and contrivance of others...[44]

So, in the intellectual, moral, and physical aspects of education the Panopticon was an educational institution-in which the educator enjoyed absolute powers to determine all the conditions in which the "pupil" would learn. It is the circumstances under which this reformatory learning would take place which generated so much of the controversy on which subsequent scholars have concentrated. Bader,[45] for example, in an interesting Note, points out that much of what Himmelfarb condemns as exploitation, Bentham regarded only as therapeutic.

Of course, the Panopticon conformed also to the much more conventional notion of education. It was a school in the generally accepted sense of the word;

> Every penitentiary-house, it is observed in the letters, besides being a penitentiary house, was liable to be an hospital. Every penitentiary-house I might have added, every Panopticon penitentiary-house more particularly, might be, and ought to be, a school.[46]

It was to be a school for adult illiterates and those children who, despite their years, were already in prison. There were not many adults, observed Bentham, whose education was so complete that there was nothing left for them to learn that would not be beneficial either to themselves or to the contract manager.[47] Bentham cited as examples their being able to read, write, and keep accounts, as well as the development of talents such as drawing and music which could always be put to use in the penitentiary (in the chapel for example). The development of such talents would always ultimately add to the gains of the contractor. Bentham was proud of this dual benefit from his proposed institution and asked "Where is the academy of which the master has so strong or so immediate an interest in the proficiency of his pupils?"[48]

Neither was the physical education of the convict-pupils neglected. When the season and the weather permitted they would have their lessons in a yard especially constructed for that purpose. Even in inclement weather an awning could be put up, though not in such a way as to obscure the view of them either by the school-master or the inspectors located in the outside lodge. Bentham appears to indicate[49] that all the instruction would take place in the yard except on those very few days in the year when the weather was so bad that they simply would have to move indoors. In that case they could repair to the chapel when it was not being used for its more conventional purpose. When this was done two armed inspectors had first to lock themselves in the gallery to maintain order while the school-master either sat in the clerk's desk beneath the pulpit or went round to the pupils to give them individual attention.[50] A further aid to the maintaining of order which Bentham recommended in case of necessity was

> Mr. Blackburn's mode of sedentary confinement ...viz that of letting down, upon the level of their breasts or stomachs as they sit, a BAR, which, without touching or much incommoding them, prevents their rising till it be removed.[51]

Since the economic motive was important, the instruction was only to take place when it would not interfere with work. It would be given at some time when the prisoners would not be working, that is, on Sunday, when

> ...instruction in its most respectable branches, intellectual as well as moral and religious, may take possession, without any opposition on the part of economy.[52]

The fact that the instruction was to take place on the Sabbath, and possibly in the Chapel itself, imposed certain restrictions as to suitable content and employment. Bentham said that the convicts might be occupied for the whole of Sunday in exercises of devotion, but that this would serve no useful purposes since

> Paternosters in incessant repetition, with beads to number them, may fill up...the whole measure of the day...but the words, instead of being signs of pious thoughts, would be but so many empty sounds - and the beads without the words would be of equal efficacy.[53]

Consequently, other occupations, subservient to devotion, would be employed instead. These would include music (particularly psalmody) and the following:

> Drawing, engraving, and colouring prints of Scripture scenes for editions of the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and other religious publications, (since they) furnish constant employment for a number of hands incomparably

> greater than could ever be picked out for such ingenious arts from a penitentiary-house. Reading and writing will, of course, on these days, take religious subjects for their theme; and these vulgar branches of instruction will find sufficient occupation for by far the greater part of the prisoners. But where these inferior sources have been exhausted, what scruple needs there be of ascending to the other higher ones?[54]

The necessity to use religious themes (for the reading and writing, for example) meant that

> The profane and worldly-minded study of arithmetic might perhaps be looked upon as ill-suited to this sacred place.[55]

So that was excluded. The object of all this was to keep alive the sentiment of religion in men's minds. This is at first sight a curious object for the increasingly agnostic Bentham to subscribe to. However, it was not the religious sentiments of the Church officials to which Bentham increasingly objected, but their conduct. He maintained that this constituted a fraud perpetuated on the people and that they had forfeited their right to the people's confidence.

There was one further educational purpose to which Bentham considered the Panopticon would be suited. This was to act as a "nursery" for transportees. Such people were frequently obliged to wait for a period of at least six months prior to embarkation. Ordinarily this time would be spent in the unsanitary and sordid conditions that pertained on board the hulks. It would be much better, suggested

Bentham (particularly for the women), to spend this time in the "industry and purity" of the Panopticon house where they would be taught to read and write and where they might also be taught other trades and skills which would stand them in good stead when they arrived at their destination. Bibles in their thousands were sent out, commented Bentham, "with pious care for the edification of these emigrants, when arrived at their land of promise",[56] but the vast majority of the emigrants were illiterate. In a "preparatory panopticon" they would be taught not only reading but also "...the habit of applying such their learning to a pious use."[57]

Bentham had stipulated that the schools were to be "an extended application of the principle of the Sunday Schools,"[58] though without the over-riding religious purpose that motivated the Sunday School movement. Instruction was to take place on the Sabbath so as not to interfere with the normal work programme and the objective was to teach useful knowledge, physical fitness, and a trade. The instruction was to be given by suitably qualified penitentiary staff (for example, the Chaplain) to classes of inmates, though uncharacteristically Bentham did not specify how large he anticipated the classes would be. Since the classes were to be held in the prison yard (extremely cold weather excepted) one may assume that whatever use could be made of charts and visual aids would be. Bentham was very keen to promote the use of such teaching instruments. Care would have to be exercised when inclement weather forced a move indoors into the Chapel to ensure that they remained in keeping with their surroundings.

Bentham's response to the penitentiary problem contained essentially the same elements as did his answer to the problem posed by the indigent poor since he always viewed both schemes as being mutually complementary.

The Panopticon scheme was Bentham's response to the threat posed to society by the criminal elements amongst the poor. As such it had to encompass a certain measure of government involvement but not outright control. It had to conform to the Principle of Utility as Bentham had formulated it, since its ultimate purpose was to reform men and to make them happy. It had to include provision for formal instruction as a means to this end while at the same time fulfilling a genuine educational purpose in all its other aspects. And, of course, it was an institutionalized response to the problem posed by the criminal poor. These are the same considerations which Bentham had in mind when he drafted his scheme for a National Charity Company. It is evidence of the fact that though Bentham revised the substance of his views on many of these matters he did so within a consistent conceptual framework, that of Utility and the "plastic power" of education. It is evidence, too, of the contention that the nature of Bentham's response to the variety of problems which the existence of a numerous poor population postulated, did not consist of a number of ad hoc responses but of an integrated system. The penitentiary was not viewed by Bentham as a separate and independent institution but as one part of a composite whole.

Footnotes to Chapter 4

1. Plint, T. Crime in England. Arno Press, London, 1851, p. 25.

2. For example in Albion's Fatal Tree, ed. D. Hay et. al. Pantheon Books, New York, 1975.

3. Clarke, M. His Natural Life. London, 1870. Reprinted by Penguin, London, 1970.

4. Vaux, J.H. Quoted in The Tolpuddle Martyrs, Marlow, J., Panther Books, London, 1971, pp. 99-100.

5. Bentham, J. Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation. Ed. Burns, J., & Hart, H.L.A., Athlone Press, London, p. 165.

6. Ibid. p. 166.

7. This list consists of eleven items; the variability, the equability, the commensurability, the characteristicalness (which Bentham defines in terms of direct association in the mind of the offender between the punishment being inflicted and the offence committed), the examplarity, the frugality (whereby the punishment inflicts a permitted amount of pain on the offender but also produces pleasure on the part of the victim, as where a fine is levied and then given to the victim), the subserviency to reformation (here Bentham recognized that the quantity of punishment would be related to a reforming tendency since it would produce an aversion towards the offence which had caused it), the efficacy with respect to disablement, the subserviency to compensation, the property of popularity, and the remissibility of the punishment. Ibid. pp. 175-185.

8. Ibid. p. 185.

9. Bentham, J. Works, ed. J. Bowring, Vol. IV, p. 174.

10. Ibid. p. 175.

11. Ibid. p. 184.

12. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., 87, 12.

13. Ibid. 87, 12.

14. Ibid. 87, 14.

15. Ibid. 87, 14.

16. Bentham, J. Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation. Ed. Burns, J., & Hart, H.L.A., p. 164.

17. Bentham, J. The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham, ed. London, Vol. III, Letter 580, p. 502, Letter dated 18/29 December, 1786.

18. Ibid. Letter 590, p. 534, Letter dated April, 1787.

19. Bentham, J. BM, V, 201-7

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. See Appendix E.

23. Bentham, J. Letter J.B. to ? Dated November 1791, MSS, U.C.L., 117a.

24. Ibid. MSS, PRO, 30/8.

25. Among his correspondence (MSS, BM, V, 405-6) is a rather curious letter from the Archbishop of York in which he informed Bentham of his belief that the latter had acted contrary to his own interests in this matter, however laudable his motives may have been.

26. Ibid. BSS, BM, V, 539/40.

27. Ibid. MSS, BM, V, 580/1.

28. Ibid. MSS, BM, V, 582/3.

29. The manuscript still survives among his papers at University College, London. (U.C.L., 149, 118-144).

30. The first of these was an account of the negotiations that took place in the 1790's. Bentham entitled it A Picture of the Treasury, with a sketch of the Secretary of State's Office under the Reign of the Duke of Portland, Under the Administration of the Rt. Hon. W. Pitt and the Rt. Hon. H. Addington. Bentham had

written this probably in 1801 or 1802 and wished to publish it at that time.

The second of these accounts is the more balanced. The basis of Bentham's case is that the King plotted against him for personal reasons. In October 1804 Bentham wrote to his brother on the matter. In this letter Bentham certainly blames King George for halting the project because of a letter Bentham himself had written to the Public Advertiser under the pseudonym of Anti-Machiavell and protesting against government anti-Russian policy. But in this letter to Samuel, Jeremy Bentham also blames the Queen's hostility to Bentham (for his early support of the French Revolution) as a factor in securing the downfall of Panopticon, as also Lords Granville and Grosvenor whom Bentham had encountered in his long search for a suitable Panopticon site. In the 1804 and 1830 versions, Bentham fastened the blame steadfastly on the personal opposition of the King himself.

31. Bentham, J. "A History of the War, etc.", A Bentham Reader, ed. Mack, M., p. 206.

32. Bentham, J. Works, X, p. 250.

33. Himmelfarb, G. "The Haunted House of Jeremy Bentham", Victorian Minds, N.Y., 1968, pp. 32-81.

34. Bader. op. cit.

35. See Appendix E.

36. Himmelfarb, G. op. cit. p. 49-50.

37. Ibid. p. 58.

38. Bader. op. cit., p. 253.

39. See Appendix F.

40. Bentham, J. Works, IV, p. 66.

41. Bentham, J. Correspondence, BM, V, 201/7. Dated 23rd January, 1791.

42. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., 115, 18.

43. Bentham, J. Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation. Ed. Burns & Hart, p. 66.

44. Ibid. p. 66.

45. Bader. op. cit., p. 248.

46. Bentham, J. Works, Vol. IV, p. 161.

47. Ibid. IV, p. 161.

48. Ibid. IV, p. 161.

49. Ibid. IV, p. 161-162.

50. Ibid. IV, p. 162.

51. Ibid. IV, p. 162.

52. Ibid. IV, p. 161.

53. Ibid. IV, p. 161.

54. Ibid. IV, p. 161.

55. Ibid. IV, p. 162.

56. Ibid. IV, p. 170.

57. Ibid. IV, p. 170.

58. Bentham, J. Correspondence, BM, V, 201/7. Dated 23rd January, 1791.

Chapter 5

THE POOR, THE PROBLEM OF THE IDLE CHILD, AND THE SCHOOL

> Ah, there's too much of that sending to school in these days! It only does harm.
>
> Thomas Hardy

> I am wholly against children wasting their time in the idleness of what is called education; and particularly in schools...where nothing is taught but the rudiments of servility, pauperism and slavery.
>
> William Cobbett

It was sidely believed by Bentham's contemporaries that ignorance and illiteracy were widespread amongst the poor. It was also widely held that this situation and that of their debauchery, profanity and general moral weakness was due to a lack of religious belief. Contemporary appeals for subscriptions to charity schools made frequent reference to the belief that the "Prophaneness and Debauchery (of the poor) are greatly owing to a gross Ignorance of the Christian Religion."[1] It is difficult to establish with any degree of accuracy, however, just how widespread a condition illiteracy was. Accurate statistical information on this problem and others, ~~as~~ Bentham himself had found out, was not and still is not, available.

As far as the rural poor, perhaps half of the population, was concerned, there would appear to have been little incentive to become literate. The nature of their lives left little time for study and most of the people to whom they might have written, had they been able, lived within comfortable walking distance. In addition, they lived in a society bound in by limits of birth and fixed social position so that education held little of the attractiveness as an avenue of upward social mobility that it later came to have. In the towns the situation was different due to the climate of sustained social change which had destroyed the old comfortable social relationships between the different social orders, and where child labour and child crime were prominent features of life. In the old society the relevance to the poor of education had been difficult to establish but increasing urbanization had changed many of these earlier perceptions.

The most reliable indicator of literacy available is the ability of a person to sign his name. It is at once obvious that this is not inerrant: most semi-literate persons can manage to do that, at least. However, a Marriage Act was passed in 1753 which required both parties to sign the official register if they could do so. That, at least, provides one indicator of possible levels of literacy in the country. It appears that levels differed from country to country. Lawson and Silver[2] report that a study in the East Riding suggests that between 1754 and 1760 64% of the men were literate but only 39% of the women were. However, this was liable to fluctuate from parish to parish, increasing in some while decreasing in others. For the country as a whole they suggest[3] that in the last half of the eighteenth century the literacy rate increased from 42% to 54% in rural areas whilst in the towns it decreased from 56% to 53%, though here again there were regional variations.

It would seem, therefore, that literacy levels did increase in the last half of the eighteenth century, but perhaps not all of this was due to formal schooling and consequently would be quite likely to escape the notice of contemporary observers of the school scene. The reason for this is that some of the "instruction" was carried on in an informal manner by friends and relations. In addition, popular literature and specifically didactic materials for juveniles became more readily available. Such spelling books, writing sheets, moral tracts, and histories, were sold at fairs and by itinerant salesmen and in this way they reached their audience.

To summarize, it would appear that whilst overall literacy rates were on the increase, there were considerable variations from one part of the country to another and in addition the ratios of literacy between the sexes were not constant. In the cities the problem was most acute. To contemporaries, relying on their own observation in the absence of any other reliable information, it was reasonable to assume that there were no encouraging signs and that the problem posed by the lack of education of the lower orders was becoming more acute.

Illiteracy was a problem confined almost exclusively to the poor. For the aristocracy and the middle classes it had ceased to be a problem. Certainly they took the maximum advantage of the lending libraries which made their appearance in the latter decades of the eighteenth century.

The role of the poor, therefore, was central to the problem of ignorance and illiteracy. It was not suggested by anybody that they should be educated in order to rise from their appointed station. In fact, the fear that they might do so was responsible for much of the opposition to educating them.

The education of the poor, then, was designed to teach them a trade, to teach them to read and, perhaps, to write. Above all, the function of the school was to instill a sense of order and discipline. The role of the poor was to accept what their superiors decided was good for them and to do so with humility and gratitude. In short,

> the multiplying poor threatened the social structure; discipline through education would diminish that threat. Submission and gratitude were therefore inculcated among the prospective hewers of wood and drawers of water.[4]

There was already a variety of institutions in which some amongst the poor were being educated. In 1816, the Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders reported that there were in existence 18,400 schools of various types but that 3500 parishes had no schools at all. It is clear, therefore, that the distribution of schools varied considerably from place to place, but schools there were. Frequently they were small, perhaps held in the teacher's house and, because they were mostly financed by fees, they faced an uncertain future. They had frequently come into being as a result of traditional philanthropy and, more recently, because of the combined influence of Evangelicalism, political radicalism, Benthamism, and Rousseau. There existed, then, a considerable diversity in types of schools. All, however, were concerned to teach basic literacy (with varying degrees of success), and most subordinated this to religion and the inculcation of the habits and attitudes of industry, humility and an acceptance of the status quo.

Due to their long established position, probably the best known of these institutions were the Charity Schools. Their general objective was to train poor children for a specific role in society. That role was to be humble and to work hard. The schools taught reading and writing, though these were subordinate to the teaching of religion. Since they were endowed they were frequently in a better financial position than many of the other schools. During the eighteenth century a number of country Grammar Schools, too poor to attract university graduates, supplemented the numbers of the Charity Schools. Akin to them were those schools operated by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. This Society had been founded in 1699 to combat vice and profanity amongst the poor and to promote knowledge of the gospels at home and in the colonies. Due to financial considerations the Society's schools were usually located in the bigger towns; sometimes the children boarded, but all were taught the three R's and in addition the girls learned how to sew. Once again, the knowledge that was imparted was thickly coated with notions of religion, morals, and subserviency. A later development of the Charity School movement was the School of Industry in which reading and writing continued to be taught, where religion was supreme, and where the three R's were subordinated to vocational training for the boys and housecraft for the girls. The aim of such schools was to train competent, humble, and obedient work people and servants.

In addition to Charity Schools and Schools of Industry, there existed a number of other types of schools for the poor.[5] First, the Dame Schools. Frequently they were little more than baby sitting institutions, run by women in their homes. They attempted to teach all children to read, and the girls to knit and sew. Second, the Common Day Schools. They were usually located in the larger villages, charged fees and attempted to teach the children to read, to write, and to do simple arithmetic. Third, there was what may be referred to as informal schooling. This took a variety of forms. In some cases the Church of England curate would teach and if that happened the Church itself was frequently pressed into service as a school room. In other cases friends would teach each other in their own homes, and occasionally, people would attempt to teach themselves. Fourth, there were the Workhouse Schools. In the workhouses the children were in constant contact with the other inmates, who were frequently unsavoury and disreputable characters. As a result the children were often corrupted. Schools were started, therefore, to provide rudimentary literacy and a measure of industrial training, but above all to teach desirable moral notions and to provide social discipline. The actual teaching was done by a hired teacher employed by the overseers for that purpose. The hope was that the

> children of the poor instead of being bred up in ignorance and vice to an idle, beggarly and vagabond life, will have the fear of God before their eyes, get habits of virtue, be inured to labour and thus become useful to their country.[6]

Fifth, and perhaps most important, were the Sunday Schools. These schools, the creation of Robert Raikes, an evangelical clergyman, were founded in 1783 and enjoyed considerable and widespread success. The purpose of the schools was quite simple. It was to teach the poor to read the Bible and through it to fix in them such moral notions that they would not take to a life of crime. In certain cases the schools were so successful that they extended their operations to weekday evenings.

The success of the Sunday Schools prepared the way for the sixth type of school, the Weekday Monitorial Schools. These well-known schools were an attempt to provide instruction for large numbers of students at minimum cost. This was achieved through the use of monitors (senior pupils) to whom the lesson was taught first by the teacher and who in turn taught it to groups of pupils. By this means large numbers of pupils could be taught by one teacher, hence the cheapness of the method. The system was originated by Dr. Andrew Bell, a Church of England clergyman who had experimented with it in Madras, and Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker. As a system of instruction it was lauded by Bentham who appreciated both the systematic approach and the cheapness of the method. A Royal Lancasterian Society was founded in 1808 to promote the aims of the system and it attracted the support of many prominent utilitarians. The boys who attended were taught reading (from the Bible), writing and arithmetic. The girls learned the same things plus needlework. Wide use was made of a system of rewards and punishments (not corporal) and of what are now referred to as visual aids. These also appealed to Bentham who employed many of the features of the system in the schools he was in the process of planning. Two organizations were founded to promote the system, the Nonconformist, the British and Foreign Schools Society, the Anglican, the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. Undoubtedly the societies encouraged the customary palliative, religion, as a remedy to remove the new-posed potential threat to the good order of society in the social, political and religious sectors which had posited the need of the age to control and civilize the increasing numbers of children.

Bentham's awareness of this special problem posed by the child is accounted for by his particular view of childhood. His perception of the child was shared by many of his contemporaries who were influenced by Locke and remained paramount until it was successfully challenged by Rousseau. This view considered childhood to be a stage of incomplete adulthood, and one which was qualitatively no different from it. It was a stage of economic dependance on adult dominated society and an inconvenient stage of life to be got through as soon as possible. Those children who were held up as shining examples to their contemporaries[7] were precisely those who most resembled adults in their interests and abilities. Bentham himself had been cast in this mold, if his early correspondence is a reliable indicator.[8] According to this view children were already qualitatively identical prototypes of the adults they were destined to become. They were impulsive, emotional, concerned only with the present and incapable of rationalising the best means to attain their own future happiness. Childhood was a physical state devoid of intellectual claims. This state which so inspired Wordsworth was a source only of disquiet to Bentham and many of his contemporaries.

If childhood was to be regretted and adulthood hastened on anything which facilitated the early transition from one to the other was to be welcomed. Anything, therefore, which encouraged the acquisition of adult characteristics by the child was to be encouraged, particularly when the child in question was a poor one, for Bentham regarded even the adults of that class as being particularly child-like. Hence, the emphasis which Bentham placed on facts, hard work and constant observation and supervision as opposed to imagination, play, freedom and independence. It is no surprise that Bentham advertised the Panopticon principle as one that was capable of being applied equally well to prisons, lazarettos and schools.

This also accounts for the distinction which Bentham made between schooling as such and education. Education was the process of acquiring the requisite habits, values, attitudes and knowledge, external to a child's nature and his natural development, which would enable him to maintain himself in society and so augment his happiness. It was, therefore, a process that could be equally applied to adults as well as to children. Schooling, on the other hand, was the more narrowly defined process of obtaining specific skills which might be used in the educational process. Adults would normally be educated only, whilst children, because of their impressionable state, would be subjected in time to both processes. In this chapter it is intended to deal primarily with the aspect of children and their schooling.

Bentham devoted considerable effort to devising systems of education for the poor. This being so, it is safe to assume that he was not happy with the existing provisions for their education. His dissatisfaction centred on two major aspects of the situation. The first was his contention that the objective of all social action ought to be to increase the happiness of those affected by it. Thus, the Principle of Utility assumes the importance of education as a means to that end and provided the spur for Bentham's plan for pauper education, his proposed reforms of secondary education, and his interest in the education of adults through the Mechanics Institutes and the S.D.U.K. The second is an extension of this: education was too important a factor in the transformation of society from what it was to what Bentham felt it ought to be, to be left to chance. From these two positions stem most of Bentham's criticisms of the existing educational institutions which it is proposed to examine now.

It is, perhaps, easier to deal first with the one major aspect with which Bentham agreed, that is, the socially conservative role in which education was being cast. Radical though he was in many respects, Bentham never contemplated a levelling role for education. His schemes were always conceived with a specific social class grouping in mind. They were designed to promote the happiness of that group, but always without disturbing the existing relationship and composition of the classes. Since one of the most prominent features of the existing schools was their dedication to reinforcing just this relationship and producing an acquiescent and compliant working class, Bentham was in favour of at least that aspect of them. Of most other aspects, however, he was critical.

Reference has already been made to Bentham's belief that education was too important to the happiness of men to be left to philanthropy. In short, Bentham's criticisms were, first, that the existing schools were largely an ad hoc response to an increasing threat of ignorance, illiteracy, and disorder. There was no system, and Bentham was a foe to ad hoc-ery and lack of system in all forms. Secondly, Bentham was critical because the existing schools depended to a great extent on private charity. Charity left too much to chance, it tended to extravagance, and it encouraged idleness.[9] The third was that through them the Church of England had managed to secure a position of supremacy over education. Of this Bentham was highly critical, and on it he had spent a considerable amount of time,[10] protesting against its exclusionary policies and what he regarded as its fraudulent activities. The fourth was the fact that the existing schools were not cheap and had constantly to be maintained by fresh injections of capital. Bentham's objective was to devise a system which would be self sustaining once the original capital had been raised through voluntary investment, which would be inexpensive to set up and maintain in operation, and which would secure the continued allegiance of the poor to the existing social order.

All of this, of course, assumed that the poor had to be educated. It was a question which provoked much public discussion. Some of Bentham's contemporaries feared that an educated poor would constitute more of a threat than would an ignorant one. Others, Bentham included, demurred. For him, the school was an institution as central to society's well being as the workhouse, the prison, and the factory.

The picture of utilitarian schooling painted by Bentham's critics is a familiar one. Foremost and most successful amongst such critics was Charles Dickens. The picture he painted in Hard Times of utilitarian philosopher-educationists "taking childhood captive, and dragging it into gloomy statistical dens by the hair,"[11] is so vivid that it has largely displaced the original. In that satire Dickens chose to concentrate on two elements. The first was the emphasis on "nothing but facts". The second was the alleged prohibition on the exercise of fancy, which so appealed to the teacher, Mr. M'Choakumchild, that he was moved to reflect of his system of instruction,

> Herein (lies) the spring and the mechanical art and mystery of educating the reason without stooping to the cultivation of the sentiments and affections. Never wonder. By means of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, settle everything somehow, and never wonder.[12]

But in seizing on such elements the satirist divorced them from their context and exaggerated their significance. He was right to do so since this is his stock in trade, but the overall picture that emerged was a distorted one. Such is the process to which Bentham's ideas on formal education have been subjected. Elements have been taken out of context and their importance magnified whilst a great deal that restores the balance and makes sense of the whole has been ignored.

In Bentham's scheme for gentling and containing the masses, the schools had an important role to play. It was not, however, a role designed to overturn the existing social and political order. The rich, believed Bentham, could safely be relied upon to educate themselves voluntarily; not so the poor who stood to gain so much more from instruction. The question of who was to organise and control the education of the poor was one which caused Bentham considerable trouble over the years. His dilemma was that since he was a middle class utilitarian he was by nature and conviction a free-enterpriser. But he realised that for those children who would not be educated in the Houses of Industry and so be subject to the constant discipline and control exercised by the Company perhaps the coercive and all encompassing powers of the government would be necessary. Yet, he had, when he had originally addressed himself to the scheme for pauper management, decided that government control would be expensive and wasteful. On the other hand, he had come to appreciate that in certain such matters government intervention was essential in order to convince men of where their true happiness really did lie. Hence, Bentham's dilemma. He resolved it by compromising. For the children who would be educated in the Houses of Industry the coercive powers already granted to the Company would be sufficient to ensure their attendance, educate them cheaply, protect them from the pernicious influences of home, and instill in them the correct attitudes of industry and order. For the others (those whose parents whilst they were poor were still independent), however, such considerations would not be effective. Living at home as they did, the "plastic power" would be diluted by contrary parental opinions. There would be no guarantee that they would continue to attend school or that they would, in that case, imbibe the desirable attitudes towards society which it was necessary that they should do. For them, therefore, the intervention of the government would be necessary[13] and Bentham went on to consider the details of that.

The inability, or unwillingness, of the poor to school their children placed a heavy responsibility on the State to ensure that they were educated in the "right" way.[14] Bentham envisaged that this would involve four distinct and separate components; the moral, the intellectual, the practical and the physical. The first of these would include the teaching of good habits, honesty, industry, thrift, respect for property, and continence. The second was designed to improve the minds of the poor; hence there must be education of the intellect. This would arouse and develop their mental faculties and provide a permanent source of pleasure and power. The third was dictated by the consideration that as children of the poor they were destined to make their way in life by manual labour; it was, therefore, essential that they be taught some means of obtaining a livelihood. The fourth was the physical. Bentham was in advance of his contemporaries in perceiving the physical and intellectual benefits to be derived from well regulated exercises and he believed that the schools ought to provide this. By means of this education poor children would be raised to be useful citizens. Bentham had seen the genesis of such an education in his association with Robert Owen's venture at New Lanark, and it obviously impressed him.

Schooling, however, would not only bring benefits to society; there were several important advantages of schooling for the individual. The first is of a general nature,[15] that learning, or intellectual instruction, secures general respect to its possessor. The second is that it provides the means of continued pleasure in leisure hours (a device, Bentham reminds us, of particular use to those in retirement). The third is that it provides "Security against inordinate sensuality, and its mischievous consequences."[16] This was a recurring theme in his schemes for the education of the poor. The fourth is of a related nature; to provide a security against idleness and consequent mischievousness. The connection between the last two named is that a vacant mind is particularly susceptible to what Bentham termed "ennui".[17] Ennui projects a state of pain which those afflicted attempt to fill with pleasures of an undesirable nature (sensuality in adults and mischief of a sportive or malicious nature in children). The fifth is that it provides an entree for "...admission into, and agreeable intercourse with, good company;"[18] By this Bentham meant company from which present or future security and profit might be obtained.

To these general advantages which "learning" in any shape provided could be added those associated with formal schooling itself. There are, in fact, no less than fifteen such advantages quoted.[19] They include the following. First, instruction will increase the number and extent of useful skills and knowledge at the disposal of the recipient. Second, it will increase the chances of happening upon those activities which are most suited to the powers and inclinations of the youthful mind being instructed. Systematized instruction was the key to Bentham's plan, as indeed system was to anything at all that he initiated. It is no surprise, therefore, that the third advantage to be derived was the general strength of mind resulting from a systematic course of instruction. The fourth is a related one. Bentham believed that the education would give "...to the youthful mind habits of order applicable to the most familiar, as well as to the highest, purposes: good order, the great source of internal tranquility and instrument of good management."[20] Bentham placed a great reliance on the power of instruction to safeguard the mind against a large number of delusions and terrors, and he naturally included this power amongst his catalogue of advantages.[21]

Finally, mention ought to be made of the matter of economy, since this was a consideration which ever commended itself to Bentham. It was a concern that he applied equally to both the poor and the middle classes. The achievement of it depended on three factors.[22] The first was the use to be made of the Lancasterian method. The second was the extent of the scale of the operation. The third was the care taken "...to adapt the species of instruction to the state of the pupil's faculties in respect of maturity."[23]

Although Bentham had considered pedagogical problems in his Poor Law Scheme in the 1790's his major educational treatise, in which he laid down architectural, administrative and pedagogical principles, was not printed until 1815. The Chrestomathia is a treatise on the proposed education of the middle classes of society, the content of that education does not concern the scope of this study. However, the architectural and administrative principles were to be universally applied to the education of the poor both in the Houses of Industry and schools.

Architecturally, the central principle to be employed was that of universal inspection, as in the Panopticon prison. Indeed, on the title page of the Panopticon scheme Bentham was explicit that the principle was equally capable of being applied to a wide variety of institutions including schools.

Unfortunately, Bentham did not work out in detail his plans for the education of the working poor in the same way that he did for the paupers. One is, therefore, obliged to conjecture his plans in this respect based on the outlines that are available.[24] In most respects the education of the two groups, the children of the indigent poor and the working poor, would be similar since the purposes for which they were being educated were the same. Hence, in terms of content there would be little difference, and in formulating the collateral uses of the Houses of Industry Bentham had made it clear that such services would also be available to the independent poor as well. Similarly, in respect of management principles, there would be considerable contiguity. For example, both would be subjected to the same mode of discipline.

The prohibition placed by Bentham on physical punishments was very much in accordance with his own sentiments. Bentham had been impressed in this field not only by the practice in operation at New Lanark but also by Lancaster's method and by the theorizing of Maria and Richard Lovell Edgeworth. In The Rationale of Reward he recommended that the Edgeworth's book Practical Education ought to be in the hands of every parent for the wisdom it contained. Lancaster he lauded for his judicious use of the principle of reward. Bentham was aware that in Lancaster's system (due to the large numbers of boys involved) it was necessary to use punishment of a more severe nature than that which consisted in mere deprivation of pleasure. He explained that

> Those (punishments) selected by Mr. Lancaster depend exclusively upon the dread of shame, and have been made uniformly emblematical or

> characteristic. Their efficacy far exceeds that of corporal punishment, which children are apt to make it a point of honour to brave, which they habituate themselves to suffer, or which inspires them with a decided aversion for study.[25]

Accordingly, Bentham recommended that in the training of young minds (in order to encourage them to attempt extraordinary heights of effort), "...the business is best managed, and indeed in a certain degree is commonly managed, by punishments and rewards together."[26] As time progressed the punishment could be dropped altogether since the force of reward alone would be sufficient to achieve the desired results.

Some mention has already been made of the impression that the monitorial system of instruction had made on Bentham. He was impressed with it as a cheap, humane, effective and systematic method of instruction. It would have been surprising if he had not chosen to employ it in the national schools he envisaged, particularly as government funds would be involved and he had earlier stipulated that where the education of the poor at public expense was involved costs ought to be kept to an absolute minimum.[27] The only major difference would be that the pauper children in the Houses would be under the control of the Company whilst the Government would be interested in the case of the independent poor since it alone had the necessary powers to override opposition to the scheme.

In summary, the schooling of the independent poor would aim, first, to teach them a useful trade so that they could maintain themselves in an independent state without recourse to public or private charity.[28] Second, it would teach them to use their leisure time profitably so that drinking and the other vicious habits they customarily indulged in would be avoided. Third, it would inculcate in them the right attitudes of humility, respect and subservience to their betters. Fourth, all of this would be done at the minimum of expense. It was not to be expected that it would be as effective as the education in the Houses of Industry since the children would still be subject to the vitiating effects of their home environments. It would achieve some progress, however, towards attaining the goals of increasing happiness without disturbing the natural social order.

In addition to his proposals for the formal schooling of the children of the independent poor, Bentham drafted schemes for the schooling of the "deprived" child in the Panopticon establishment and for the education of the pauper children in the Houses of Industry attached to a prison. Bentham had always emphasised the complementary nature of the Houses of Industry and the Panopticon schemes. In the same way that he had drafted collateral uses for the Houses, so he designed them for the Panopticon. It is proposed to consider the educational uses now, beginning with the Paedotrophium and proceeding to the Sotimion.

The Paedotrophium, a projected nursery school occupied Bentham's attention between 1792 and 1794. It was to contain two departments,[29] an Infant Nursery and an Apprentice Nursery, and was expected to benefit the lower classes in two ways. First, it would instruct working class children. Second, it would prepare members of that class for future employment. The scheme was expected to provide a useful upbringing for working class children bearing in mind the station which they were destined to occupy in life.

It was anticipated that the children to be educated in the Paedotrophium would come from five different sources. The first of these would be the children of the pauper inmates of the Houses of Industry. The second would be the children of prisoners in the Panopticon gaol. The third would be the children of "any workmen thrown out of employment by new inventions". The fourth source would be the children of "soldiers and seamen killed in the war".[30] The last would be apprentices, bound or unbound.[31]

It was intended that the establishment would promote the happiness of the inmates by encouraging in them only those tastes which could be satisfied, bearing in mind their situation in life, and by affording to other "natural habits their utmost of judgement."[32] Bentham believed that these aims could be achieved by taking care "to bring together the means of (increasing) happiness," and by excluding "the efficient causes of unhappiness."[33]

There were, inevitably, a number of clearly defined Principles of Management which set out the rules and procedures of administration for the establishments. The most important of these were the following. First, that all the apprentices were to be taught two trades quite independent of each other so that if one failed the apprentice would not be unemployed.[34] Second, that only children who had not already been "spoiled" by soft living outside the establishment would be admitted, and then only at a young age.[35] Third, that all the children ought to be given, cheaply, that sort of education "which promises to be the most beneficial to them," since the direct object of the Plan was to promote the interest of the individual subject to it.[36]

Above all, the Paedotrophium had an educational and instructional purpose relative to the present and future needs of the inmates. For present needs it would teach them to work hard and so attain their independence, keep them physically fit, and, in the field of moral instruction, it would provide enjoyment and security by keeping them in ignorance of "visceral enjoyment" until the "means of safe and innocent gratification were presented."[37] For the future, it aimed to provide for their well being by promoting their intellectual improvement and their physical fitness, by forming in them useful habits and by eradicating vicious ones, by providing security against accidents, by teaching the virtues of hard work coupled with good husbandry of resources, and by the "formation and improvement of faculties intellectual and corporeal considered as means of ensuring future subsistence."[38]

Translated into methodological aims this posited a wide variety of instructional techniques which Bentham outlined under four headings. These were, first, the Means of Operating, second, Security Against Accidents, third, Husbandry of Time, and fourth, Good Husbandry in a Pecuniary Sense.

In the first mentioned category Bentham included eleven principles of a more or less general nature, all of them[39] concerned with pedagogical principles or ways of organising classes. There is, first, an injunction to make every effort to make the process of learning easier but always subservient to the purpose of instruction. Second, the teacher ought to make as much use as possible of rhyme and verse, presumably because this appealed to children and made it easier for them to learn. Third, fourth, and fifth, the more advanced classes ought to be ona higher plane than the others as an incentive to the younger students, the senior students ought to be differentiated in terms of physical appearance from the mass of the students, and these students ought to have a greater measure of "comfort" than the others as a reward for their industry. Sixth, and seventh, the maximum benefit ought to be attained by employing the principle of punishment and reward and by awarding greater comforts and honours to those who succeeded. Eighth and ninth, the pupils ought to be challenged to produce answers and results and to think and to discover imperfections and suggest improvements in the mode of instruction. Tenth, the subjects to be taught ought to be approached in the order of difficulty of concept beginning with the easiest to comprehend. Thus, "Ethical (studies) before Logical...Natural History before Natural Philosophy, Conception before Judgement..." Finally, he gave a hearty endorsement of the monitorial principle; an injunction that

> teachers (should) employ as much as possible the scholars that have just been taught (for) the pleasure of exercising power and explaining copiously sweetens the labour... and leads him to a mastery of the subject by leading him to contemplate it in different points of view..."40

The second category concerns physical safety and includes the requirement that the pupils ought to be given training in those subjects which would give them some facility in the case of accident. Thus, they would be given instruction in the medical and surgical branches so that if accidents did occur they would be prepared.[41]

The third category dealt with ways of economizing time. Bentham was concerned that the apprentices' time should be used to the best possible effect. Basically, this amounted to the following. First, no time was to be left unoccupied. Second, the time devoted to sleeping ought to be reduced to the minimum consistent with maintaining good health. Third, all recreations ought to be made subservient either to maintaining good health or the culture of bodily, mental, or moral faculties. Fourth, all useless studies ought to be discarded however popular they were. Fifth, a number of instructional purposes ought to be subsumed under one exercise.[42]

The fourth category was "Good Husbandry in a Pecuniary Sense", or as it is more commonly called, economy. There were two aspects of this which Bentham commended. They were, first, that the apprentices be kept in the most economical way with respect to food, housing and clothing without deference to custom. Second, that when recreations were considered, those which would yield a profit should be given pre-eminence. Rowing would be one example of this. By such means all the hours that were not devoted to sleep would be given up to work.[43]

As to the content of the instruction it would depend on the age and expected future position of the apprentice, since the institution was to be open to a variety of classes of children. For the under four years of age the intellectual exercises would consist of reading and writing, plus foreign languages (though not for the pauper children since "abroad they are not designed to go"), and instruction in "gathering things, sorting things, finding and gathering silk worms, and doing the same with regard to snails and caterpillars for the Ptenotrophium." As for physical exercise it would consist of "S.B.'s[44] premium mobile, swimming, rowing and wheel walking."[45] Other subjects to be taught, to the older children, would include Botany and Zoology (plus microscopes and appropriate exhibits)[46], Natural History, Chemistry and Anatomy for purposes of home treatment of minor troubles, Morals (to be taught before they were acquainted with History),[47] Medical instruction both in its prophylactic and curative branches and particularly with respect to those minor afflictions likely to arise in a domestic situation,[48] and most particularly, "J.B.-an principles of Morals and Legislation."[49]

One of the most innovative aspects of the Paedotrophium was to be the library. Since it would need to serve all classes of apprentices it had to be comprehensive[50] and capable of providing information readily. Consequently, catalogues and encyclopaedias loomed large. They included a Calendar of Ingenuity, a Digest of the Statutes, numerous dictionaries and catalogues of foreign publications, books of law, technical dictionaries, volumes of instruction in the domestic, technical and economic fields, atlases, mathematical tables, chronological tables, models of towns and buildings constructed so that they could be dismantled and put back together again, agricultural manuals, volumes on trade and international commerce, biographies, and volumes on horticulture. This was obviously intended to be a major and much frequented centre of the Paedotrophium where information necessary to the instruction of all classes of pupils would be available. Since the dissemination of such useful information was to be a prime function of the establishment, its importance ought not to be underestimated.

Reference has earlier been made to the variety of schools that existed in England for the education of the poor. One might legitimately question, therefore, why Bentham felt it necessary to add to this. Obviously, he felt that the schools he had to offer would contribute something to their education which existing schools did not provide. Amongst the most obvious of such advantages were the systematic approach and the universality of instruction, but there were other reasons.[51] They would, first of all, provide an appropriate ground for investigating the basis of judicious marriage. Bentham suggested that

> ...the difference betwixt wife and no wife, betwixt husband and no husband is above all estimate. Yes: at the call of nature, at the first call of nature which the lasting interests of health are not forbid to listen to, will these valiants of society be every one of them in the company of a partner of the opposite sex while the sons of kings disgrace themselves by clandestine and unsafe amours, and the daughters of kings pine in celibacy.[52]

In addition, the children of such marriages would provide a continuing supply of working stock since their parents would still be minors, and so the children would be managed jointly by their parents and the Company. In this way, reckoned Bentham, all classes would be gainers. The second was that it would provide the necessary capital to set up a couple in the married state. The third was that the child would be spared the vitiating effects of the home environment. The fourth was that in these institutions the children would have the benefits of a simple diet, perpetual inspection, simple clothing, work, and that their leisure time would be profitably employed. The fifth was that there the pupils would be constantly under the tutelage of the management. This meant that every moment of the day they would be subject to scrutiny. The sixth was that the incentive to learn was to be based on a system of rewards, not physical punishment. The seventh was that in this establishment the Principle of Interested Management would operate. Bentham reasoned that what made education ordinarily expensive was that it was bestowed on those who could afford to pay for it and consequently the poor were excluded. In the Paedotrophium such a principle would not operate since the personal interest of the Managers was necessarily involved. Bentham was proud of his scheme and pleased with the prospect of it. Indeed, so pleased was he that he was led to claim:

> This is Utopia...In this plan happiness is provided for not by the unfounded assumption or confident prediction, but by the catch that is taken to bring together the means of happiness, and to exclude the efficient causes of unhappiness.[53]

The eighth was that it would provide an excellent opportunity for carrying out experiments. One example of this would be to find the cheapest diet which would still maintain adequate health. For example, the apprentices could be divided up into groups and fed differently to see which thrived the best on the most economical diet.[54]

It was when he came to consider the occupations that the children might aspire to that Bentham's imagination was given full rein. For the males he listed thirty-nine possibilities, starting with veterinarians and proceeding via painters, musicians, engravers, newspaper reporters and mineralogists, to naval architects. For females the opportunities were rather more limited being eight in all, beginning with midwives and moving via dancers to practical chemists.[55] Some of the boys might also be pressed into service to row wherries bringing visitors to Panopticon Hill or alternatively to row boats bringing loads of manure from London. The convicts were to be employed in this way also, though in their case it would be necessary for "a man with fire arms (to be) stationed in a sort of pulpit to shoot anyone who should attempt to escape."[56] Rowing was the sort of activity calculated to appeal to the ex-mariners whom Bentham expected to find in plenty among his convicts.

Associated with the Paedotrophium was another of Bentham's schemes which involved the application of the Panopticon idea to the solving of a different social problem, this time that of the unwed mother and her child. This was to be a Sotimion, which Bentham proposed to found using his own property at 2 Queens Square Place.[57] The name itself was another of Bentham's inventions, probably being derived from the Greek word Soter, meaning "preserver". This was to be an institution which would benefit both the working classes and the superior classes although the latter would pay for the services provided. Unfortunately this scheme exists only in outline form[58] and much of that is concerned with details of a more or less institutional character such as furniture or the amusements intended for the inmates and visitors.

The Sotimion was to be an

> Establishment for the Preservation of female delicacy and reputation (providing) the

> advantages of optional solitude and necessary concealment combined with the comforts of innocent society, with which is connected the Nothotrophium, or Asylum for the innocent offspring of forbidden love.59

The women who were to be admitted would pay a deposit (of £50 or £100) if they could afford it. If not, they would still be admitted on condition of their attending to the children of the richer ones and doing washing, sewing, etc., for them. Advertisements were to be placed in the Town and Country Magazine to advise potential clients of the existence of the Sotimion. Only those women who were actually pregnant were to be admitted "that it may not be employed by men as a receptacle for kept mistresses."[60]

The advantages which Bentham saw in this scheme (apart from yet another application of the Panopticon idea) were, first, that it would preserve many women from enforced prostitution by maintaining their reputations and so their claims to marriage. Second, the education of the children would be guaranteed and would be carried on in the light of public scrutiny. Third, the parents would know nothing further of their child except where he promised to "turn out anything extra-ordinary."[61] (In that case a sealed paper containing details of the child would be communicated to them).

On the furnishings of the institution and the occupations and amusements of the inmates Bentham lavished much time and detail. The cabins where the "superior" ones would live would be carpeted, would contain a stove (capable not only of heating the room but also of warming drinks) and a variety of windows.[62] There was to be room for a small pianoforte and a chair. This latter mentioned item really inspired Bentham's creative powers to unparalleled heights. It[63] was to have a back of striped leather, side rails to make it wider or narrower, a seat frame with an end rail to be raised or lowered, a hinged back supported by straps, elbow supports also born by straps, a screen to protect the shoulders and arms of the occupant from draughts, a foot-board also capable of being raised or lowered by straps, arm pit supports, a seat frame, and leg screens to protect the legs from the cold on one side and the fire on the other. It is a pity that such a useful piece of furniture was destined never to be constructed.

The educational function of the Sotimion had two aspects. The first was that the poor women inmates would there be taught useful domestic skills and other occupations which would enable them profitably to employ their leisure hours. The second concerned the education of the children to be born there. Bentham had several times referred to this as one of the advantages which his scheme possessed over others, specifically that the "education of the children would be in public and the means of it is well known." Since the total number of children affected would be comparatively small and Bentham's scheme was calculated to operate profitably with large numbers it was not planned to set up a separate school for them but to educate them in the Paedotrophium along with other children.

Similar attention was given to the occupations and amusements of the inmates and visitors. Bentham formulated a list of eleven occupations in which the women could participate prior to their confinements. This included poultry herding, cards, processing to Chapel, and playing music.[64] As admission to the amusements was to be paid for, Bentham suggested that the poor ones might earn this money "by taking in Woman's work." (For example, needle work, millinery, ironing, clear starching, and making pickles).[65] Neither was exercise to be overlooked. Bentham composed a list of ten indoor activities (including Russian Roundabout, Chamber Horse, and Imitations of Russian Ice Mountain) and four outdoor ones.[66]

In the field of amusements for their leisure hours and in the decorations for the establishment Bentham once again allowed his imagination full reign. Russian Ice Mountain or Flying Chariots was described in detail.[67] For example, the chariots would follow a prescribed course and might be illuminated so as to make them a more striking spectacle. To make them even more spectacular they might be charged with fireworks. Other diversions to be provided included fountains of beer, punch, or wine worked by compressed air,[68] and in the ladies' coffee room other fountains (this time of lemonade, Rose Water, Orange Flowers or Lavender) but in any case also to be worked by compressed air. There was also to be an orchestra.

Spectacle, an unusual aim for the retiring Bentham, was here to be accommodated to the full. In addition to the fountains (which might be illuminated by coloured lights and made even more spectacular by burning gun powder under water)[69] there were to be pictures (made by the prisoners), and magic lanterns.

Undoubtedly the pieces de resistance were to be the Dancing Figures (of Adam, Eve, and the Serpent; of "J.C. and the devil", and of Jupiter, Juno and the Punch Harlequin). These were to be put in motion by a "powerful Electrical Apparatus."[70] Bentham expected that the figures would "start up into life upon the touch of a wand", that they would be made out of silk (stretched to make it air tight) and that threads would be tied with elastic, and weighted either at the feet or the head, whichever was to be lower-most. Inside the "apparatus" there would be two thin glass bubbles, one filled with acid, the other with aerated alkali. The reclining figures were to be touched with the wand so as to break the glass which would cause the air to swell and so make them rise. At another touch of the wand the air would be let out and so the figures would fall again. As the air exited it might be forced through a musical whistle and so add sound to the spectacle.[71] The labour (for rowing boats on the canal, for carrying out the various menial jobs, for operating the amusements, etc.) was to be provided by the inmates or by prisoners according as to which was the more suitable source. The scheme was drafted at various times between 1794 and 1796 but was caught up in the whole Panopticon delay and suffered the same fate when that scheme was finally abandoned.

The greater part of Bentham's writings on the place of formal schooling in the education of the children of the poor are contained in his scheme for Improved Pauper Management.[72] When he considered the specifically educational aspects of his scheme, Bentham (aware of the variety of types among such a bizarre population) was adamant that only a complete plan of education would provide for the children of the institution. Adults, too, would be "educated", but they would not be "schooled", as would the children.

In respect to its charges Bentham's proposed National Charity Company stood very much in loco parentis. One of its major responsibilities, therefore, was to ensure that its "non-age" charges received an appropriate education.

The degree of appropriate-ness was worked out according to Bentham's notion that

> Education is the conduct of the individual through the early part of life. The proper end of education is no other than the proper end of life-well being...(and that) ...the field of education comprizes the whole of the individual's time.[73]

The "well-being" referred to is that of both the individual concerned and of his guardian, the Company, at whose expense he was to be educated and in whose care he was to remain while the process was being carried out. Consequently there were three concerns which had constantly to be born in mind[74] when considering the education of the workhouse child. These were, first, that it should lead to financial profit for the individual and the Company. The second was that it should promote the comfort, diet, health, strength, cleanliness and personal security of the child or apprentice. The third was that the education should be designed to promote the advantage of the individual after he left the House, and at the same time procure some benefit for the public at large. In this respect Bentham included such items as the need to educate the individual so that he would be able to maintain himself, that he would find profitable amusement, that he would have intellectual and military strength, moral health, the faculty of pleasing, and religious affections. All these objectives were inter-dependent and inter-related. The Company would be in a peculiarly favourable position to put Bentham's ideas for a "complete plan of education" into effect, for it would have total control over the people, including the children, in the institution at all times of the day.[75]

The achieving of "comfort" (i.e., the absence of pain) was to be a general objective of the education since this was a natural concomitant of the occupations to be pursued.[76] Physical fitness was to play a significant part in this process. Bentham considered exercise as essential to health and life. He enjoyed it himself, he had devised exercises for emigrants to Australia to keep them in good physical shape on the long sea journey from England, and naturally he did not overlook it in his system of pauper education. Bentham wrote,

> Strong exercises, seem in the instance of most individuals to be, in some proportion or other, necessary to the perfection of health and strength; and in particular, in non-adults, to the development of strength: and the greater the proportion of such exercises, infused into the mass of occupation, without excessive fatigue, or the support given by artificial stimulants, the better both for health and strength.[77]

The exercise ought to develop as many limbs and muscles as possible, rather than concentrating on just one hand or leg or other part of the body. This led Bentham into a lengthy discussion as to which exercises would be best admitted, and those which would have to be excluded. Long lists were compiled and the merits of many sports discussed; from this discussion swimming emerged in undisputed place of honour.

Bentham was particularly concerned with the proper (i.e., the most economical and financially lucrative) use of time.[78] The whole of the pupil's time ought to be accounted for. Bentham believed very firmly that

> from the first dawn of the human faculties, corporeal included as well as mental, that is from the earliest period at which attention can be of use, no portion of the pupil's time ought to pass unattended to.[79]

The question of sleep and the application of time to lucrative production have already been alluded to, but the matter of diet has not. To understand Bentham's views on this it must be remembered that his scheme for pauper education was to function within the framework of a profit-making enterprise. The profit would only be realized if expenses were kept in check. One of those expenses was the cost of feeding the pauper population. Consequently,

> in the article of diet, so much in quantity and no more ought to be allowed, than the least quantity sufficient in the instance of each individual for the purposes of health and strength including the most advantageous course in respect of growth, and the complete removal of the pains of hunger and thirst.[80]

Another aspect of this preoccupation with time is the utilization of those periods which are normally lost to productive labour. Bentham thought of this as an hitherto untapped source of national wealth. The customary age at which children commenced work was fourteen years of age.

On the other hand, reasoned Bentham, from the age of four years and up it was possible to begin to make a profit out of human exertions. There were, then, ten wasted years in which children were neither productively employed nor were they being educated. This was a period of

> ten years in which except the reaping of that stock of amusement which might be reaped in no less plenty from the field of rational education, ten precious years in which nothing is done! nothing for industry! nothing for improvement, corporal or mental, moral or intellectual![81]

In his Essay on "Religion in Education" Bertrand Russell stated his belief that "...a religious education gives courage to the stupid to resist the authority of educated men."[82] Bentham adopted a similar belief with respect to the authority of tradition; he was convinced that it provided an excuse for acting without thinking. Consequently, he was very concerned that criteria other than custom should determine such matters as the earliest time at which instruction should commence, the quantity of instruction to be administered within a given period of time, the choice of subject matter to be taught and the order in which instruction in the various subjects ought to be commenced. The criteria he proposed instead should be, respectively, physical capacity (ascertainable by observation and experiment), practicability, utility (viewed in relation to the situation of the individual during his apprenticeship and his situation in relation to the world at large at the end of it), and natural facility.

In several other manuscripts, some of them later published in Young's Annals (in 1797 and 1798), Bentham elaborated on his proposed compulsory schooling of children in the workhouses. When he considered again the value of teaching the "propositions" of a subject, Bentham recommended that only those which were employed in practice and involved concrete operations should be taught. He believed that such practical propositions, or principles, were easy to understand, consequently,

> by a very easy process, a child, even a very young one, might be made to comprehend as a matter of fact, that spheres are to each other as the cubes of their diameters; a proposition of no small use in the choice of apples and oranges.[83]

On the other hand, demonstrations[84] were quite another thing. Bentham lamented that

> I never yet met with a motive strong enough to engage me to submit to the fatigue of comprehending it.[85]

Bentham introduced his idea that practical subjects be taught first in the following words:

> Facility, as far as concerns the ideas to be communicated, depends upon vicinity to sense...the nearer to sense, the less the demand for exertion; the nearer to comprehended use the less the pain of exertion because the more manifest the recompense. The exercise of the judgement requires more attention, that is more exertion, than the

> exercise of the perception, or of the memory. Those branches of instruction may therefore be made to take root the earliest, which require least exercise on the part of the judgement, and most on the part of the perception and the memory.[86]

Accordingly, Natural History would be taught first, and grammar where it was taught at all would be taught last. If this method was followed then

> the quantity of really useful knowledge that might thus be administered to the lowest class of the community by the time of their arrival at full age might be the greater than what is actually communicated in the course of that period to the highest class - and that without any loss of time with reference to industry any more than to any of the other objects.[87]

Bentham proceeded to consider the value of tables as an aid to comprehension. He himself made frequent use of such items in his work; all his major works were written to an outline in the form of a table or were later reduced to it. A glance at his Table of Encyclopaedic Knowledge and the various other tables constructed in the course of his work on Chrestomathia will confirm this assertion, as will the value he placed on such devices for conveying as much information at a glance as possible and for circumscribing the limits of his own grand designs. Such a potent teaching device ought to, and would be, employed in his seminary. The following are the reasons he gave for their extensive use. First, they could be turned to the advantage of two parties, the pupils and the Company. Second, from the point of view of the learner,[88] they facilitated comparison between objects so that points of similarity and diversity might be appreciated. Third, they served to mark the progress of the learner and show the relationship between what he had mastered and that which remained to be learned. Fourth,

> They circumscribe the immensity of the subject, and animate the exertions of the learner, by shewing him from the first the period of his labours.[89]

Finally, if the quantity of instruction to be conveyed was too great for one table or even a group of them, a separate table could be constructed to serve the purpose of a syllabus. By this means at least the limits of what was to be learnt would be known. All of these are valuable pedagogical points, the more so as Bentham directed that the tables all together would form a complete covering for the walls of the schoolroom or other place where the teaching was to take place. They would thus be constantly in view and familiarity, not here breeding contempt, would serve to impress their contents upon the impressionable minds of their beholders. In order to ensure as completely as possible that such an important teaching device would be fully understood, Bentham gave a detailed description of several such tables that might be employed in teaching Botany, Mineralogy, Building, Ship-Building, and Husbandry.[90] Other forms of visual aids which Bentham recommended in this context were prints and models or specimens instead of the usual array of "uninstructive imitations, toys, and play things usually put into the hands of children.[91]

Reference has already been made to Bentham's concern that the whole of the pupil's time (except that portion of it which was unavoidably, if regrettably, devoted to such unprofitable activities as sleeping and eating) should be devoted to profitable activity. There remained, however, one big gap in the work week, Sunday. This was a day on which it was customary for even the poor to rest and yet for them to do nothing at all was potentially hazardous. Bentham recognized that the days when laws could be passed to oblige people to attend church had now passed. Such laws, he suggested, had originally possessed two objectives. The first was to ensure that for a certain part of the day the people should be engaged in religious devotions. The second was that for the rest of it they should refrain from occupations which either resulted in financial profit or were repugnant to morality or religion. The result of such a series of prohibitions regarding the Sabbath was that all amusements, including even the most innocuous, were frowned upon. The Sabbath, which had been instituted as a day of rest had become, Bentham insisted, a day of idleness instead. Here Bentham cited the opinion of King Charles I[92] that

> to preclude men from innocent occupations
> without insuring their attendance in devotion

> is not favouring devotion but idleness - which in that line of life is but another name for vice and mischievousness.[93]

Certainly, argued Bentham, the poor should not labour on Sundays, but there was no reason why they should not indulge in innocent amusements. The alternative to this was probably drunkenness, and that was abhorrent on all possible scores. Above all,

> the day consecrated to religion by occupying a part with devotion, and excluding profit, yielding imployment from the rest is peculiarly adapted to all useful occupations that are not profit yielding...This is the day, the one day out of the seven, for the culture of the mind. Idleness, mere inaction - mere absence of all occupation can never have been enjoyed by true religion - nor can be subservient to any good purpose.[94]

Thus, Sunday ought to be devoted to improving the mind, and to exercising the body, considering that the mass of the people were confined to sedentary occupations for the other six days. The Sabbath ought not, concluded Bentham, to be considered a day of rest, but rather a day of relief. Bentham formulated, therefore, a plan for promoting the due observance of the Sabbath which included attending religious exercises, whilst at the same time it allowed innocent and profitable use of the rest of the time.[95] Bentham included a skeleton outline of such use of time in his marginal outlines.[96] It is headed Sunday Occupations, and contains the following headings: 1 Church Service. 2 Learning to read and write and cypher. 3 Practising d^{o}. 4 Painting, drawing, etc. devotional designs for ornament to the chapel. 5 Printing books of devotion or morality - not for sale. 6 Mummery-sans dancing. 7 Psalmody and other religious musick. 8 Psychic-theology. 9 Military exercise. 10 Swimming.

The Sabbath apart it was necessary that the pupils should be taught the right things in their formative years. Bentham now turned to consider in detail what they ought and ought not to be taught in order to achieve the desired result. In this context his guiding principles were, first, that

> the striking out of any unnecessary article out of the catalogue of studies (when I say useless I always mean with reference to the class of students in question) is a real gain; since any useless article struck out leaves so much room for the useful.[97]

Second, tradition should be discarded, since

> what has been all along learnt (he argued) continues to be learnt: not to gain the advantage of possessing it - but to avoid the shame of not possessing it. It is for this reason that words are preferred to things; and even among words dead languages to living ones.[98]

Consequently, the list of subjects to be discarded is an impressive one. The following may serve as an indication of this;

> Languages, even living, much more, dead; Grammar, even English; Mathematics - all the high and difficult branches; Astronomy, unless in the maritime situations, and so

5

> much of the practical part as is necessary to navigation: Geography, except so much as is attained by looking at a map: Poetry: Oratory: History: Logic. These, some as absolutely, others as comparatively undesirable; Law; not as undesirable (for what could be more desirable?) but as being in the present state of it, unattainable. Religious Instruction is already provided for by the appropriate service of the day.[99]

Bentham's reasons for rejecting these subjects are revealing in that they illustrate clearly both his general approach to matters of curriculum and the social class dimensions of his recommendations.

Bentham's reasons for rejecting languages were several. They could not be justified on the basis of utility. In addition, even the most recent of dead languages was anterior to the birth of useful knowledge, and whatever might have been useful in them had by now been translated into English. Living ones, whilst justifiable in the education of the middle and upper classes because they would have need of them in the course of government service or commercial activities, were of no conceivable value to pauper children since

> ...the pupils in question can have no need of foreigners. Abroad they are not designed to go, unless they themselves desire - and at home, it is for foreigners to conform to their language, not for them to that of foreigners, and for reading, everything they can stand in need of is already in their own language.[100]

Next in order of its lack of utility stood

History, with Geography but a short distance behind. History,[101] wrote Bentham, can have only two objects, to amuse, and to instruct.

> In the way of amusement, the universally agreeable and for the most part morally useful fictions, bear the palm from that mixture of real and pretended truths called histories.[102]

On the second account history was instructive only to politicians or those destined to be such. Since this was the very last thing which Bentham had in mind for his proteges, it is not surprising that it was dismissed. It had, in addition, one other great defect. This was

> ...to familiarise the conceptions and the affections of men with blood and carnage, to dress out in gaudy and attractive colours the most distructive vices, and to annex the idea of honour to injustice and murder upon a large scale.[103]

Geography was similarly indicted. In the foreign field it was subservient either to history, to foreign politics, or to commerce. Domestic geography was learned as it was required, and that without teaching. In a marginal comment on both History and Geography, Bentham wrote, apropos of his charges, that

> They are not intended for historians, for Secretaries of State for foreign affairs or for trading in foreign countries in the character of Merchants.[104]

That being so, neither History nor Geography would be of use and both were excluded.

In the list of excluded subjects referred to earlier, grammar held a prominent place, as did rhetoric and poetry. Bentham believed that the use of grammar provided one of the most obvious ways to distinguish one social class from another. To teach the pauper children about it would only serve to confuse them as to their true station in life. Similarly, to teach them oratory or rhetoric would serve only to defeat the object of teaching them at all. Bentham wrote that

> the best thing that could be done in favour of mankind would be to annihilate the breed of rhetoricians. That being impossible the next best thing and the only feasible thing is to deface the practice of their arts as much as possible. The greater the number in an assembly, the greater the chance of its affording a second oratory by whom the delusion produced by the artifices of a preceding one may be dispelled.[105]

It was not part of Bentham's plan that his pupils should be associated with any such dangerous body as an assembly, and he certainly did not intend that skills which might be misused against the propertied classes should be taught to pauper children at the expense of those same property-owners.

Bentham was an ancient foe to poetry. When formulating the Greatest Happiness Principle he had written that "pleasure for pleasure, push-pin is as good as poetry." In his outline for a plan of Irish Education[106] Bentham admitted that in those times when printing was unknown and even writing not too common then poetry might have had a legitimate use as a vehicle for history and the law. That use had now disappeared. Dramatic poetry (along with novels) was the least obnoxious form "But neither dramatic poetry nor novels have any occasion to be taught."[107] In the present scheme, poetry was dismissed as "misrepresentation in metre",[108] and "of use to nobody any farther than as it gives pleasure."[109] Classical poetry was doubly bad. First, the Greeks and Romans were morally corrupt. Second, they had an inordinate love of wars. Third, they venerated bad political institutions. Fourth, they taught vices now punished with the gallows, as also inferior eloquence and false natural philosophy and natural history.[110] When all of this was enshrined in the form of poetry it was most definitely to be kept from pauper children. Taken all in all, there was

> ...no more reason for teaching it than Chess or Cards. As to the metre it is upon a level with punning. As to the imagery its characteristic is to give false views of things either obscene or exaggerated.[111]

Most surprising of all, perhaps, is Bentham's interdict on the teaching of law. This prohibition arose neither out of the nature of the subject nor the impossibility of its being taught. Rather, that

> law must unfortunately be included in the list of branches of knowledge which admittance into such a seminary must be denied; it is

> not from the inevitability of the science but from the impracticality of the attempt.[112]

Law was the basis of society and provided the only acceptable framework for its continuance. It was intrinsically fascinating (or at least Bentham found it so) since he believed that

> If one branch of knowledge be in its nature more interesting than another it should be that of the law in the breath (sic) of which personal security, property, all conditions in life, everything that can bear the name of interest depends.[113]

Bentham, therefore, profoundly regretted that the chaotic state of the law made this most fundamental basis of society impossible to teach. The "supineness and negligence of presiding and existing legislatures",[114] rendered the teaching of law impossible. But this in no way negated the close connection between the law and morality which ought to be a very close one. Hence, while it was not possible to teach law in the Houses,

> In lieu of law itself must therefore be taken for this purpose that branch of morality which constitutes a certain part of the field of established law.
>
> Give a definition, a moral definition of each species of delinquency, and at the head or the conclusion of the list, say there are species of behaviour to which in all cases bring down upon the head of the offender the contempt and aversion of his fellow subjects, and which in most cases it may be added in almost all cases punishment in some shape or other from the hand of public parties.[115]

There are three other subjects on which Bentham's ideas were rather less unambiguously hostile; they are algebraic and chemical symbols, and astronomy. As far as the first two are concerned, Bentham's dilemma arose out of the fact that he approved of the teaching of chemistry and mathematics but the employment of symbols perturbed him. As for the algebraic symbol, he believed that[116]

> it augments labour instead of saving it. To give significance to the characters you must first announce it in words at length: and when you have made the characters they have no meaning until translated back again into words.

Bentham continued at length[117] on the theme that algebraic symbols retarded science instead of advancing it, and that they obscured meaning instead of clarifying it, viz

> If A has a little mind, and B a great one, you may call A's mind x and B's mind x + y, but what is it you either learn or teach by this nomenclature?[118]

As for chemical characters, they were merely "a species of shorthand absolutely useless and pernicious...(whose)... inventors made use of them for concealment."[119] They were, he concluded,

> of no manner of use even in a table - the square or compartment that contains the characters would equally well contain the name at length. In words at length the table would be clear of instructions. In characters it is all darkness. Understanding the characters is learning a new language and when you have learnt it it is of no use.[120]

The remaining excluded subject was Astronomy. The dilemma for Bentham arose out of the conflict of the beneficial and mischievous uses to which it might be put. On the one hand it was distinctly beneficial to those of the pauper population who were destined to go seafaring. On the other hand, it was liable to be abused by astrologers. On the whole, he concluded, the cons did not outweigh the pros, and it would best be left alone.

After such a formidable list of prohibitions it comes as something of a relief to find that there is indeed something left to teach. In fact, it is a surprisingly weighty list. It is headed by instruction in Reading (which Bentham felt to be absolutely essential) and is followed by Natural History, Arithmetic, Writing, Chemistry, Mechanics, Geometry, Music, Swimming, Dancing, Morality, and Medicine. Natural History, Chemistry, Music and Swimming were singled out by Bentham for especially close attention. The sciences (which presented to Bentham the challenge of unfailing novelty), contained something valuable. It was not only that what they presented was new, but that it was also useful. Bentham believed that

> at the public expense men ought to be taught nothing but what is really *useful* - what is agreeable they will in proportion as it is agreeable, teach themselves.[121]

He himself had long taken a close and practical interest in science.

Bentham was convinced that Chemistry ought to be taught to the children of the poor because of its universal applicability to them in their station and economic situation in life. Science was coming to form a part even of the education of the middle and upper classes. Bentham argued that if it was justifiable in such circumstances then it was an indispensable part of the education of the poor, since so many of the everyday processes in which they were involved were derived directly from it. For example,

> On Chemical knowledge depend for perfection and improvement, whether in point of economy or effect, all the operations, ordinary and extraordinary, of the House, considered with reference to the composition and mixture of the several materials and the changes they are respectively capable of undergoing in that respect; viz: family operations - lighting, warming, baking, cooking, washing, brewing (were brewing to be admitted); manufacturing operations such as steeping (of hemp and flax), bleaching, tanning, smelting; husbandry operations; use of refuse of all kinds for the purpose of manure; also the preservation of the several materials of which the several articles for family use and consumption, as well as the subject matters and instruments of manufacture and husbandry are constituted, from the several causes of decay and destruction to which they are exposed.[122]

In a series of Essays on the subject of the Poor Laws, written in 1796, Bentham developed these ideas at greater length. In them he emphasized the practical value of chemistry to both males and females of the poorer classes. The major theme on which Bentham expanded is that every act of every day is subject to chemistry, yet there is an almost total ignorance of it abroad. This development of the idea is included as Appendix G since the detailed treatment accorded it is worthy of some attention. The idea of instruction in the sciences was not a totally new idea, of course, but the original contribution which Bentham made was to extend this idea to the education of the poor. He did this because he realised the practical value to them of an understanding of the theory which underlay so many familiar and domestic activities. Chemistry was one such science, others were Natural History, Mechanics, Arithmetic and Medicine.

Bentham was aware that to suggest teaching Natural History to the poor would be regarded as strange, and the justification of it on the grounds of utility even stranger. He commented,

> Were a man to recommend as subjects for the studies of pupils of such a class the sciences of Tetrapodology, Ornothology, Icthyology, Entomology, and Botany, he would be looked upon as a book-worm whose head had been turned by pedantry.[123]

Nonetheless, Bentham believed[124] that a sufficient number of his pupils would subsequently be engaged in activities in which this information would be of value as to make it worthwhile. Animals are of interest to us in one of two ways, wrote Bentham. The first is by the use we can make of them, the second is because of the mischief and damage they may do us. In both respects a knowledge of Natural History would be of advantage to the person who might have to deal with them, since

> ...it would be a recommendation to a labourer in husbandry that he understood the art of catching moles, to a servant in husbandry or to a journeyman in a Chandler's shop that he understood Rat catching, are propositions that will probably pass without censure. But the Mole catcher is a Natural Historian, a Zoologist, a Tetrapodologist, whose studies have been particularly directed to the mole; the Rat catcher another Zoologist whose studies have been particularly directed to the genus Mus, just as the Chiropodist is a Surgeon whose studies have directed themselves more particularly to the diseases of the hands and feet.[125]

The poacher, continued Bentham, is a Natural Historian whose studies have taken a still wider range, being frequently Tetrapodologist, Ornithologist and Icthyologist all in one. Bentham was not recommending the acceptance of poaching as a legitimate activity, but pointing out that a knowledge of Natural History would be invaluable to those who would be employed as gamekeepers. Bentham even suggested[126] the preparation of special charts containing figures of animals, birds, fishes and insects systematically arranged and with a human figure in each compartment for the purpose of comparing sizes. These charts would be used as instructional aids.

Mechanics was a science which had a more immediately apparent practical application in the construction trades and in domestic activities. It consequently required less in the way of formal justification for its inclusion. It entered into a wide variety of fields with which the pauper children would later be involved, for example, building and ship-building. The other branches of Mathematics (the higher and more difficult ones always excepted) such as geometry and arithmetic would be similarly employed, though algebra ought to be excluded since it obscured knowledge instead of clarifying it.

The other indisputable science that Bentham recommended was medicine. This was comparatively easy for him to justify on the grounds of utility since medical facilities in 18th Century England were scarce and a knowledge of elementary treatments would be a most useful acquisition. It was not intended by Bentham that the medical knowledge would enable the charges to dispense entirely with the aid of a physician, but rather to acquaint them with elementary principles of public health which would enable them to treat non-serious illnesses, and by preventive action avoid more serious ones. With this principle in mind Bentham prescribed a number of fields in which the proposed instruction would be of use. First, it would provide sufficient knowledge for the poor to realise when professional medical assistance was necessary. Second, it would instruct them in what to do for a patient in the interval between an accident and the arrival of proper medical aid. Third, it would caution them regarding health hazards in the form of noxious air. Fourth, it would provide an awareness of false remedies for illnesses. Fifth, it would teach a general knowledge of anatomy and physiology which was to provide

> cautions regarding the abuse of the organs subservient to the continuation of the species. The caution to be given at a period anterior to the existence of the desire of which these organs are the seat,

and

> instructions with regard to the avoidance of such diseases as a man is liable to bring upon himself by his own act...for example the pernicious effects of fermented liquors, with or without intoxication, in large quantities or in any quantities.[127]

Although the sciences occupied pride of place in Bentham's recommended curriculum, there were several other subjects which he considered especially important. The list comprises Music, Exercise, Reading and Constitutional Law.

To teach pauper children to read served four useful purposes reasoned Bentham.[128] The first was to soften their manners by diverting their attention from mischievous pursuits into more socially acceptable and less dangerous ones. The second was to increase the chance of what he termed "extra-ordinary labours of genius". The third was to guard them against mischievous error and imposition of every kind. The last was to facilitate the intercourse of governments with them. The acquisition of this skill was, then, beneficial to the individual and essential to the State. Bentham realised that it would facilitate social control by increasing their awareness of what he regarded as "social realities", and so render them less susceptible to radical propaganda.

Bentham had a very high regard for Music as a useful skill. It formed one of the most important of the collateral uses of the Houses of Industry. In addition it was morally useful[129] since it filled up a gap in thought that would otherwise be taken up with mischief and drunkenness. Instrumental music was above reproach in this respect. Vocal music was somewhat less so since there was a well-established repertoire of drinking songs, and the connection between drinking and singing was too close a one to be contemplated with equanimity. Bentham also listed a number of other benefits that would be derived from a knowledge of music. For example, he believed it would provide a bond of mutual interest amongst the apprentices after they left the care of the Company. Second, it was closely associated with the exercise of religion and this connection might well encourage the frequenting of divine service. Third, in the Industry Houses, musical skill could be put to good use to entertain visitors of the superior classes and there was always the chance that individual performers might be "noticed" by such visitors and so might be laid the basis of a future career as singer or instrumentalist. There were also opportunities for such employment in the Church and the theatre, and military bands were always in need of players. The list of uses to which music could be put in the Industry Houses and the personal benefits it conferred is a lengthy one.[130]

Bentham was certainly well in advance of almost all his contemporaries in his appreciation of the part that exercise should play in education. Mens sana in corpore sano was a working maxim which he thought ought to be applied as much in a House of Industry as on the legendary playing fields of Eton. There were of course a number of criteria that had to be satisfied, and not all exercises were considered as being of equal value. To be acceptable for use in the establishments exercises had to be varied, beneficial to as many limbs and organs as possible, and profitable either in the financial sense or in the way of conferring useful skills.

Bentham felt it desirable that the means of giving exercise to the pauper apprentices should also provide a source of locomotion for some piece of machinery since this would save the cost of providing it by some other means.[131] Against this consideration one also had to consider the cost of constructing the exercise apparatus, but that was a matter which was felt to be outside the scope of his scheme. Accordingly, Bentham's imagination was pressed into service to devise such means of exercise. As may be imagined, the result is a mind boggling agglomeration of contraptions. They include a stage which moved up and down according to the weight of children induced to run up onto it. This would combine utility of the type referred to, with teaching the virtue of competition. The children would treat it as a race and compete to be the first to the top. Details of this are given in Appendix H . In addition, he devised a rowing wheel[132] which would be worked by a winch powered by a human motive force. The size would be bigger for adults and smaller for children. The details of this are included as Appendix I. Other inventions included a walking wheel,[133] (though this was not as good as walking and running), another form of moving stage consisting of an inclined plane which moved up and down gradually according to the weight of bodies on it and which pumped water accordingly.[134] For those intended for a sea-faring life, a further invention was a mock-up of a ship's rigging set up on dry land (the land itself being covered with a species of soft material designed to break falls). Exercise would be obtained by climbing it, whilst at the same time a very useful skill would be acquired.

Since exercise ought to be beneficial to the individual and all parts of his body, Bentham was obliged to consider the relative values of the most popular games in his society. He considered that cricket was acceptable for middle and upper class males because the pleasure they derived from it would not be mixed with pain to others. In the case of the pauper children, however, it was not suitable for them for several reasons. It excluded the left hand almost entirely from participation in the exercise; catching occurred so rarely as to be discounted from consideration; and whatever exercise was involved was confined to the batsman and the bowler (in other words, to four persons out of more than twenty).[135] Fives was rejected for similar reasons, since

> Fives (to say nothing of tennis, a game by its expensiveness placed out of the reach of all but the most opulent of idlers) is a game that requires such a peculiarity of local circumstances as to be out of the question with a view to general exercise. It is besides partial, though by institution than by nature, in respect to the extent of the exercise, being confined in a manner to the right hand.[136]

The same unfavourable verdict was, in turn, meted out to Trap ball,[137] Shuttlecock, Whipping Tops, Peg Tops, Marbles "(little more than a contrivance for killing time...and frequently connected with gaming"), Trundling a hoop, Bass-Ball, and Skipping-Rope.[138]

Only walking, running, rowing and swimming emerge with honour. The first two, being locomotive exercises, exert the muscles in the same proportion fibre to fibre, particularly when accompanied by other strong exercises. Rowing was a strong candidate for inclusion, even though the movements were not entirely free.

Swimming enjoyed a uniquely strong position and possessed a number of major advantages. First of all, it could be practised equally by both sexes (due provision being made for decency) and begin at an early age. Second, it served a useful purpose in saving lives endangered at sea (to make it more effective in this respect Bentham recommended that it should be taught to people who were still clothed, rather in a manner employed in contemporary life-saving techniques).[139] Third, as an exercise combining the useful purposes of sport, increased bodily strength, and personal security, swimming was unsurpassed,[140] the more so as it gave equal exercise to both legs, both arms, and a wide variety of other muscles to boot. Fourth, it could as easily be practised on a Sunday as on any other day, and Bentham reckoned that it ought to be. It was particularly suitable since

> the day on which religion forbids the application of exercise to the purpose of pecuniary economy is the day that ought to be particularly allotted to such exercises as are subservient to the other purposes of sport, development of bodily strength and personal security.[141]

Bentham maintained that mere negation of all activity led inescapably to idleness, mischievousness and vice. This was a situation that "...can never have been enjoyed by true religion - nor can be conducive to any good purpose."[142] Swimming, he concluded, was an activity which increased bodily strength, was devoid of pecuniary gain, gave innocent amusement subservient to sport, and actually saved lives. It was the ideal exercise for his pauper apprentice stock.

Ultimately there is the matter of what Bentham referred to as Politics and Constitutional Law. Law itself had been reluctantly excluded because its chaotic state precluded it from being taught. The branch which Bentham had it in mind to teach the pauper children was closely connected with the idea of public morality in government. It was conceived as having a very definite and conclusive function to perform. For Bentham,

> The grand object of the instructions to be delivered on this head to the class of pupils should be the practical one of disposing them to be contented with their lot. Two propositions are to be inculcated:
> 1 That the condition they are doomed to is as good an one: i.e.; as favourable to happiness as any other
> 2 That if it were not no efforts which they would use by the display of collective force would have any tendency to improve it.[143]

In the same way that Bentham anticipated hostility to the notion of teaching science to the pauper children, so he expected a similar reaction in this case. He foresaw that it might be believed that

> to propose that laws in general and Constitutional Law in particular should be admitted into the system of instruction allotted to the lowest class of the poor, is a proposition that at first mention might seem full of absurdity and extravagance. But when the system of instruction

> on this head is understood to mean neither more nor less than a sermon, and that a short one, on the Text; Study to be quiet and mind your own business, the supposed absurdity may appear not altogether destitute of reason.[144]

Bentham entered upon an extensive justification for his use of the subject for such a conservative purpose. It was, first of all, the natural lot of men to labour and impossible that all but a very small percentage of them should be exempt from it. For those used to labour it was no hardship to continue in it.[145] Second, to attempt to change this situation would lead to violence (by people in defence of their property),[146] and in that struggle most probably the property itself would be destroyed and so be lost to everybody. Third, success in that struggle would depend on a man's ability to deceive his peers, so that even if the propertied classes were disposed to give up their possessions and distribute them equitably, it would make no effective difference to individuals.[147] Fourth, some people would never be satisfied whatever they got and so would prolong the struggle in order to gain still more.[148] Fifth, if such a wholesale redistribution of property were to be attempted it would mean dismantling the whole fabric of government, and how would it be put together again?[149] Finally, Bentham reasoned, even if such a milennium was achieved a pauper would still be but one man out of millions.[150] The inescapable and not unpleasant conclusion was that

> Subjection, subjection not liberty be it remembered is the natural and for year after year the universal state of man. All other parties out of the question nothing can be so perfect as this dependence.[151]

Morality was to be taught in order to reinforce this doctrine and to prove that the "...code of the rights of man will be the most foolish as well as the most mischievous of all dreams."[152]

It is reasonable to suggest that at the end of the eighteenth century the provision of schooling for the children of the poor was inadequate and unevenly distributed. It lacked quality and it had not kept pace with the shifts in population that were taking place. In the towns, where it had once been at its most adequate, it was now woefully insufficient. In the country the situation varied greatly from county to county. Everywhere the type of schooling available was inadequate and what existed was primarily concerned to inculcate notions of industry, humility, piety and the maintenance of the social order.

Occasionally, individual children from the lower classes had been educated if they had been fortunate enough to commend themselves to the notice of the rich and powerful. Thomas A' Becket, "the backstairs brat who was born in Cheapside,"[153] is an example of one such fortunate. Such an experience, however, was uncommon. Most of these children were destined to pass their days in a state of almost unrelieved ignorance. Why, then, did it become a matter of importance to educate them at the end of the eighteenth century? Two major reasons have been suggested. The first is that the static nature of traditional English life was giving way, under the impetus of agrarian and industrial revolutions, to a more volatile society in which the bonds that tied the various orders to each other and had provided the basis of public order were ruptured by differences in social relations and the migration to the towns. Education was then perceived as a means of ensuring continued order. The second reason is that the increasing numbers of such children and their economic importance in the emerging society made it imperative that they be educated. The more of such children there were the greater became the threat that they posed. In this case, too, education was seized upon as a means of gentling the masses.

The extempore state of English education for the poor prevented it from adequately discharging the urgent social function that was then being imposed upon it. Only a comprehensive and consistent system of schooling would henceforth suffice. This was why Bentham's view of schooling was so important. It offered the all-embracing and uniform qualities which were so noticeably lacking. These qualities were, to promote the social control of the masses by the

State, to confer benefits in the way of good habits, useful skills and healthy attitudes on the individual, and to do this through a comprehensive, useful, and carefully assembled curriculum, devised and taught in accordance with an humane methodology.

The aim of the formal instruction was, in accordance with the Principle of Utility, to make men happy through useful and productive work whilst at the same time providing them with the means to make their leisure hours similarly profitable. Formal instruction had a definite role to play in the moral transformation of the poor. Bentham recognized, however, that it could not work in a vacuum. Hence the formal instruction had to be placed first in the context of Utility and side by side with other educational agencies such as the Houses of Industry, the Panopticon, and the variety of informal educational agencies and influences.

Footnotes to Chapter 5

1. Quoted in Lawson, J. & H. Silver. A Social History of Education in England. London, 1973, p. 215.

2. Baker, W.P. Parish Registers and Illiteracy in East Yorkshire. East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1961. Quoted in Lawson, J. & H. Silver, op. cit., p. 192.

3. Lawson, J. and H. Silver, op. cit., p. 236.

4. Taylor, G. The Problem of Poverty, 1660-1834. London, 1969, p. 56.

5. For further information refer to the following: Lawson, J. and H. Silver. A Social History of Education in England. London: Methuen, 1973, pp. 226-266. Taylor, G. The Problem of Poverty, 1660-1834, London: Longmans, 1969, pp. 56-59. Watson, J.B. The Reign of George III, 1760-1815. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960, pp. 38-41, 525-526.

6. Taken from An Account of Several Workhouses etc., London, 1732. Quoted in Lawson, J. and Silver, H., A Social History of Education in England. London, 1973, p. 188.

7. Pinchbeck, I. and M. Hewitt. Children in English Society, Vol. 1, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970, p. 270-271. Recall that Henry Plumptre, who died at ten years of age in 1718, had "to a great degree made himself master of the Jewish, Roman and English history, the heathen mythology and the French tongue, and was not inconsiderably advanced in Latin." They also mention 2 year old George Holles, who whilst he was "full of life and spirit which yet had a mixture of wildness and gravity" would "many times suddainly step aside from the height of his little sportes and (kneeling against the wall) would say his prayers."

8. See The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham, Vol. I, ed. T.L. Sprigge, 1968, Letters 1-50.

9. UCL, MSS, 152a, 37-38.

10. Bentham had written extensively protesting against the corruption and exclusionism practised by the Church of

England. The following is some indication of his writings on this subject: MSS, UCL, VII, 108-160: Strictures on the Exclusionary System as pursued in the National Society's Schools (1816); Church of Englandism and Its Catechism Examined (1818); An Analysis of the Influence of Natural Religion on the Temporal Happiness of Mankind (1822); Not Paul But Jesus, (1832).

11. Dickens, Charles. Hard Times, ed. Ford, G. and S. Monod, New York, 1966, p. 7.

12. Ibid., p. 37.

13. The government intervention would come in the form of a complete plan of national education involving libraries, a Minister of Education, the diffusion of Art and Science (through institutions set up in the country for that purpose), the publication of newspapers, an Educational Encyclopaedia, and the founding of schools such as the later Mechanics Institutes. See Works, II, pp. 256-260; Works, IX, Constitutional Code.

14. Bentham, J. Works, IX, The Constitutional Code.

15. Ibid., Works, VIII, 8.

16. Ibid., Works, VIII, 9.

17. Ibid., Works, VIII, p. 10.

18. Ibid., Works, VIII, p. 10.

19. Ibid., Works, VIII, pp. 11-16.

20. Ibid., Works, VIII, p. 12.

21. For example, the expectation of profit from the discovery of a practical method of achieving perpetual motion would be prevented by a knowledge of the principles of mechanics. Equally, false hope of profit from the discovery of the "philosopher's stone" would be prevented by an acquaintance with the mineralogical branch of chemistry, and fears occasioned by the existence of "Ghosts, Vampires, Visible Devils, Witches" would be resolved by a knowledge of Natural Philosophy, Works, VIII, p. 12.

22. Ibid., Works, VIII, p. 14.

23. Ibid., Works, VIII, p. 14.

24. UCL, MSS, 106, 76-83, 106, 403.

25. Bentham, J. Works, III, p. 206.

26. Ibid., p. 206.

27. Bentham, J. Annals of Agriculture, ed. A. Young, Vol. 30, p. 156.

28. Bentham, J. UCL, MSS, 153a, 189.

29. Ibid., UCL, MSS, 107, 61.

30. UCL, MSS, 107, 55.

31. UCL, MSS, 107, 58.

32. UCL, MSS, 107, 61.

33. UCL, MSS, 107, 58.

34. UCL, MSS, 107, 56.

35. UCL, MSS, 107, 57.

36. UCL, MSS, 107, 59.

37. UCL, MSS, 107, 61.

38. UCL, MSS, 107, 61.

39. UCL, MSS, 107, 61.

40. UCL, MSS, 107, 61.

41. UCL, MSS, 107, 61.

42. UCL, MSS, 107, 61.

43. UCL, MSS, 107, 61.

44. Samuel Bentham, the philosopher's brother.

45. UCL, MSS, 106, 55.

46. UCL, MSS, 107, 54.

47. UCL, MSS, 107, 58.

48. UCL, MSS, 107, 58.

49. UCL, MSS, 107, 59.

50. UCL, MSS, 107, 53.

51. UCL, MSS, 107, 54.

52. UCL, MSS, 107, 58.

53. Ibid., 107, 58.

54. Ibid., 107, 55.

55. Ibid., 107, 56.

56. Ibid., 107, 56.

57. Ibid., 107, 104/5.

58. Ibid., 107, 100-106.

59. Ibid., 107, 103.

60. Ibid., 107, 102.

61. Ibid., 107, 100.

62. The windows would not open so as to prevent draughts. Ventilation would be provided by means of special tubes.

63. Ibid., 107, 101.

64. Ibid., 107, 100.

65. Ibid., 107, 102.

66. Ibid., 107, 100.

67. Ibid., 107, 102.

68. Ibid., 107, 103.

69. Ibid., 107, 104.

70. Ibid., 107, 105.

71. Ibid., 107, 105.

72. This was originally published in Arthur Young's *Annals of Agriculture*, Vols. 29, 30 and 31, and subsequently in the *Works*, Vol. VIII.

73. Ibid., Annals etc. v 30, p. 268.

74. Ibid., Annals etc. v 30, pp. 268, 269.

75. Ibid., Annals etc. v 30, p. 271. The houses of industry are a very early example of what sociologists have come to call a "total institution". This provides one reason why he was able to consider the question of repose. Here Bentham distinguished between sleep and non-sleeping relaxation. Repose, considered as the negation of all activity, ought to be cut to the absolute minimum that was consistent with health and strength. Sleep was tantamount to a cessation of life and was totally unproductive, but it was unfortunately a necessity and therefore something that had to be accommodated. However, "lying abed without sleep" was a totally different matter; it too was unproductive, but not at all essential. Bentham, in a footnote, condemned it as a habit unproductive of relaxation. In this case it was pernicious to bodily health. It was also a form of idleness, and thus injurious to moral health.

76. Ibid., Annals, v 30, p. 272. The occupations referred to here include repose, moral health, religious affections, suitable instruction and ultimately "matrimonial society", "...of which comfort is naturally the object, though the continuance of the species with its attendant comforts and anxieties, is another fruit of it.

77. Ibid., Annals etc. v 30, p. 272.

78. Ibid., Annals etc. v 30, pp. 273-276.

79. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 101.

80. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 101.

81. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 107.

82. Russell, Bertrand. Education and the Social Order, Unwin, London, 1970, p. 68.

83. Bentham, J., U.C.L., CXLIX, 74.

84. By this Bentham meant not a visual demonstration of a process or technique, but a logical proof.

85. Bentham, J., U.C.L., CXLIX, 74.

86. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 70.

87. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 68.

88. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 76.

89. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 76.

90. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 79.

91. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 73.

92. Bentham here referred to King Charles I as "one of the most respectable of our Sovereigns" whom he "never could regard without sympathy and veneration", U.C.L., CXLIX, 87.

93. Bentham, J., U.C.L., CXLIX, 87.

94. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 85.

95. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 83.

96. Ibid., U.C.L., CXXIII, 101.

97. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 114.

98. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 71.

99. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 111.

100. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 114.

101. Bentham stigmatised history as "Pictures of manners of which it is an advantage to be ignorant." U.C.L., CXLIX, 71.

102. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 115.

103. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 115.

104. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 115.

105. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 122.

106. Ibid., U.C.L., CVI, 76.

107. Ibid., U.C.L., CVI, 76.

108. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 71.

109. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 71.

110. Ibid., U.C.L., CVI, 76.

111. Ibid., U.C.L., CVI, 76.

112. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 119.

113. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 119.

114. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 118.

115. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 118.

116. Ibid., U.C.L., CXXXIII, 99.

117. Ibid., U.C.L., CXXXIII, 99.

118. Ibid., U.C.L., CXXXIII, 99.

119. Ibid., U.C.L., CXXXIII, 99.

120. Ibid., U.C.L., CXXXIII, 99.

121. Ibid., U.C.L., CVI, 76.

122. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 75.

123. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 120.

124. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 110.

125. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 121.

126. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 120.

127. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 120.

128. Ibid., U.C.L., CVI, 77.

129. Ibid., U.C.L., CXXXIII, 100.

130. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 105-106.

131. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 96.

132. This was to be "a wheel turned by a winch, with a fly wheel to equalise the motion." The objective was to provide exercise and at the same time to promote rowing skills. MSS, U.C.L., CXLIX, 78. Appendix I refers.

133. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 97.

134. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 97.

135. Ibid., CLIII a, 96.

136. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 97.

137. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 97.

138. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 98.

139. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 98.

140. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 103.

141. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 102.

142. Ibid., U.C.L., CXLIX, 85.

143. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 132.

144. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 132.

145. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 133.

146. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 133/134.

147. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 135.

148. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 135.

149. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 136/137.

150. Ibid., U.C.L., CLWII a, 138.

151. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 139.

152. Ibid., U.C.L., CLIII a, 141.

153. Eliot, T.S. Murder in the Cathedral. London, 1938, p. 59.

Chapter 6

The Diffusion of Useful Knowledge:

The Poor and the Problem of Ignorance

> "Any character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, or to the world at large, by applying certain means; which are to a great extent at the command and under the control, or easily made so, of those who possess the government of nations."
>
> Robert Owen

In any society, virtually at any time, poor people pose problems which the other classes feel obliged to resolve. The poor in 18th century England were no exception to this general rule. Their problems, a disposition towards crime, their own indigence, their apparent waywardness, their obvious illiteracy and their seeming idleness, were not due to an innate state of depravity. There is no reason why, as a class, they should be afflicted in this way when their social superiors were not. Rather, it was believed, their problems were the result of their total ignorance of man and human nature.

Of all these problems the most fundamental and serious, but at the same time the easiest of solution, was ignorance. Their inability to control their own lives, their lack of useful skills, their ignorance of their own physical state, their vulnerability with respect to the economy and the law were due to ignorance. As a result of their ignorance they were credulous, superstitious, vicious and at the mercy of their own environment.

Such woeful ignorance of their environment was the major obstacle to their greater happiness. Their lack of knowledge and their general absence of savoir faire meant that not only were they at a disadvantage in attempting to control their lives but also that they lacked the means by which they might gain that control. Their ignorance was thus a source of pain (and Bentham had defined happiness in terms of the absence of pain).[1] There were five areas in which the ignorance of the poor was most particularly apparent; they were finance incompetence, ignorance of occupational opportunities, the use of leisure time, the dearth of factual information, and health hazards.

It was apparent to Bentham that one of the major sources of the unhappiness of the poor were the financial constraints imposed on them. These took the form not only of a shortage of money but also a lack of facilities for the wise use of those resources which they did have. Bentham was not in a position to relieve the former, even if he had been inclined to do so, but the latter presented greater possibilities. Not only had the poor no knowledge of how to manage their resources wisely, but the costs of financial services to them were out of all proportion to the sums of money with which they were dealing. For example, it cost as much to transfer ten shillings from one part of the country to another as it did to send five hundred pounds.

The second source of unhappiness was the ignorance of the poor with respect to the possibilities of employment. Information about available employment and the means of obtaining it would be useful to the idle poor, whether they chose, or were obliged, to be idle. In the former case it would be an aid to compulsion and in the latter a useful service to the independent and industrious poor.

The third source of pain for the poor was their foolish use of leisure time. Bentham believed that the lack of useful knowledge with respect to the proper (by which he meant profitable) use of whatever time was not devoted to work or sleep was a major source of the idleness and the moral weakness which characterised the poor.

Unlike the negro slaves, whose condition of life and whose aspirations have been recorded in moving spirituals, the English poor in the 18th century do not speak for themselves. A great deal is known, however, of their various activities, and the ways in which they spent their leisure time are amongst these. It is, unfortunately, not an edifying record, being characterised by excessive drinking and bestiality. In an age when drinking water could not be relied upon to be pure, English people of all classes drank fermented liquors of one kind or another. John Bull, the most archetypal of all English men, stands pot of ale in hand and paunch prominent. However, the poor could ill afford to drink ale or gin - both commonly found, and did so only to forget. The charms of Bacchus at least offered a few hours respite from the sordid realities of life. It is surprising, though, that despite the excesses candidly recorded by Hogarth, there was no strong temperance movement during Bentham's active years. Indeed it was an act of patriotism to drink gin and ale, instead of brandy, and the majority of English people, including the poor, did put on a convincing display of patriotism.

Apart from drinking, the poor indulged in a variety of sports and pastimes each of which offered some slight respite from, and contrast to, the tedium of everyday life, even if they did vie with each other in degrees of bestiality and cruelty. The 18th century was a time when most of the poor were indifferent to the sufferings of others, be they man or beast. It was a time when the various forms of escapism competed in brutality, but there were few legitimate outlets for amusement and exercise which were open to the poor. Bull baiting remained legal until 1825 whilst bear baiting was not outlawed for another ten years. Even more degrading and cruel were the sports of hare coursing (suppressed only within the last decade) and cock-fighting (outlawed sometime ago but still far from suppressed) which along with the ever popular pugilism attracted a great deal of support from the poor, perhaps because of their suitability for wagering. These were major outlets for the frustrations of the poor in an age in which beneficial exercise was not yet appreciated (although Bentham understood the benefits of it entirely) and in which the prevailing cultural dimension only led the poor towards greater brutalization and degradation.

Bentham believed that society ought to point out to the poor those ways in which their time could be profitably spent in acquiring information which would be useful and beneficial to them. This included acquiring useful skills and interests, such as music, as well as more practical knowledge of crafts and domestic operations which would make their domestic situation easier.

The fourth area which Bentham considered was the provision of factual information with respect to the law and the structure and operation of society in its relationship to the poor. The chaotic state of contemporary law prevented it from being taught in any systematic way. Nonetheless, the poor were affected by the legal system and even more so by the moral notions which were implicit in it. The ignorance of the poor of both of these was a prime source of their unhappiness.

The final source of pain for the poor was their lack of knowledge with respect to their own health and physical condition. This ignorance was a serious problem, and had four major areas of concern. First was the question of sanitation and hygiene. The overcrowded and slum living conditions in which most of them lived put extra pressure on means of sanitation that were, at their best, crude and inadequate. Knowledge of personal hygiene was, in any case, still in its infancy and the materials of which clothes were made rendered it difficult to keep them clean. As a result clothes were frequently filthy and even verminous. Second was the question of disease itself. Arising out of the poor living conditions already referred to and fostered by the general lack of quarantine facilities and knowledge of hygiene, disease was rampant. Typhus was universally feared, "consumption" was a widespread killer, and venereal disease a common occurrence. Third was the ignorance of midwifery, worse when compounded by the lack of hygiene. As a result those children who survived their birth and early infancy were fortunate indeed. Fourth was the absence of dispensaries where the poor could take themselves for advice and medicines. Whilst all of the above affected the "superior" classes to some extent, they bore particularly heavily on the poor because of their living conditions and general ignorance of how to control their own environments. The poor, believed Bentham, ought to have a better knowledge of anatomy and physiology so that minor ailments might be cured or prevented without recourse to expensive professional medical services. Similarly, a major and recurring source of pain was their appalling fertility. The poor simply had too many children. This prevented them from augmenting their material happiness just as it contributed to their spiritual misery. Bentham believed that a greater knowledge of contraceptive methods would be of benefit to them and he set out to relieve their ignorance.

Bentham's view of education was certainly comprehensive:

> The business of education (he wrote) includes the business of providing occupations of one kind or another for filling up in some way or another the time of the individual to be educated.

> In saying the time I mean the whole time, ...Under the head of occupations may be included
>
> I Lucrative employments 2 Exercises or athletic occupations 3 Studies or Library occupations 4 Amusements or relaxations.[2]

The great enemies of knowledge, of increased happiness, and of profitable occupation were idleness and a vacant mind:

> in this subject (he wrote) as in most others strange notions have gone abroad into the world - that nothing in a mind is better than anything; or that if something must be there that something will be better supplied by chance than by design: as if Fortune were wisdom's advantageous substitute, or sand guide...The mind is a field in which if man sow not wheat the Devil will sow tares.[3]

Bentham went on to point out that an uncultivated mind was prone to violence. It was true, of course, that an educated mind still might pervert its knowledge and apply itself to fraud. This was bad since its activity would be directed against security of property. But violence was worse for it would not only destroy property but many other things (including life itself) as well. The former might be replaced but the latter never could be.[4]

The education that Bentham was advocating (as a precaution against violence) could be broken down into two component parts. The first was formal instruction, the second was informal education. Both could be achieved through the beneficent interest of the legislator and through institutions and other media set up for that purpose.

Bentham saw in the proposed system of Industry Houses a vehicle both for formal instruction and for the provision of proper educational influences and facilities (the former was no good without the latter). The Houses of Industry were felt to be particularly suitable because what was done in them was a matter of public knowledge and a glowing example to others. Each House would therefore be not only a source of useful information but also a school of instruction.[5]

Thus, a clear obligation was laid on the educator to contribute in large measure to the achieving of the goal of increased happiness. But he was by no means alone in this endeavour. An equal burden fell to the legislator since he provided the conceptual and practical framework within which all of this was to take place.

The lack of formal instruction available to the poor and the vulnerable position that their ignorance in this respect put them in has already been referred to. Equally important, because it was so common and debilitating, was their ignorance with respect to their own condition. They lacked the knowledge with which to control the forces which shaped their own lives. Consequently, they were at the mercy of their "betters" (or anybody else who cared to exploit them) often with tragic consequences for themselves.

The humane Parson Woodforde has left us, in his

Diary, a first hand account not only of his own life but through it one of the few glimpses of the day to day happenings in the life of his poor contemporaries. It is a record which because of their lack of formal education, the poor themselves were not permitted to record. Even a cursory reading of the Diary[6] provides valuable insights into what the poet Thomas Gray referred to in his Elegy as "The short and simple annals of the poor." There are numerous references to the conditions under which poor people were obliged to live: inadequate pensions for those incapacitated in their country's interminable wars; a maid discovered attempting to conceal her dead child;[8] in two days the birth and death of a child;[9] the miserable funeral of a wretch found dead in the snow;[10] the public hanging of a man of whose guilt the good parson appears not to have been convinced but who is nonetheless dismissed with the comment "If he is innocent, I doubt not he will be amply rewarded, if he is not, Lord be merciful unto his Soul."[11] There is Robert Biggen who stole some potatoes and who was whipped by the hangman from "the George Inn to the Angel from thence back thro' the street to the Royal Oak in South Cary and so back to the George Inn,"[12] and whose treatment prompted a collection of 17"6d given to the hangman "to do him justice." Throughout the whole there is the interminable drinking. The supposed idleness of the poor and their consequent drinking, their lack of money and information about it, about jobs, about their health, were the major areas in which the ignorance of the poor made them prisoners of their situation. Bentham realised that knowledge, particularly factual knowledge of these areas, would provide the means by which they could begin to control their lives and so attain a greater measure of happiness for themselves and for society.

The ignorance of the poor prevented them from achieving a greater degree of happiness in two ways. First, it prevented them from understanding and thus controlling the environment in which they lived, and consequently it deprived them of that control over their own lives that was so essential to self respect. Secondly, their ignorance deprived them of access to legitimately sanctioned means of satisfying their desires and provided, as a result, an entree into a variety of forms of vice. Thus, much of their involvement with criminality, their lack of respect for their betters, their indifference towards law and order, their unhealthy life style, and their waste of whatever leisure time they had, was due to their ignorance.

Bentham's attention was directed towards the problems of the poor not only because their situation was not conducive to increased happiness, but also because none of the existing agencies which might have been expected to help alleviate the situation was seriously interested in doing so. The Church of England, for example, which ought to have been in the van of such an assault, was more interested in maintaining its own position of social influence in the face of the nonconformist challenge than it was in relieving the social pressures which bore in upon the poor. Bentham had already perceived this priority and later[13] attacked the Church for its exclusionary policies with respect to education. Even the various voluntary agencies which were established[14] were, though with serious intentions, acting independently of each other. Their overall effectiveness, therefore, was seriously restricted by a lack of systematic and comprehensive practical help and useful knowledge.

Bentham's solution to the problem of the gross ignorance of the poor was to diffuse useful knowledge or education amongst them.

In the existing situation, Bentham contended, the poor were not protected by the law. In fact, they were exploited by it and by those who framed it. Bentham pointed out that he had

> ...in a publication already referred to (Protest Against Law Taxes, 1796) had occasion to shew how the poor of this country ...are left in a state of perpetual outlawry, partly for the supposed benefit of the public by the insensibility of the men of finance...by the insensibility or incapacity or policy or all together of the men of law and at any rate for the real benfit of the misery making and nonsense manufacturing

> profession whose most valuable property consists on the unintelligibility and worthlessness of its own works.[15]

As an example of this discrimination and exploitation, Bentham cited the laws relating to financial transactions. He invited his readers to

> Compare those English laws in favour of Pawnbrokery with the laws against the offence of imaginary malignith called usury - From the man of opulence, whose sole motive for borrowing is the prospect, perhaps the certainty, of adding to his opulence and who often offers no security but personal, you must not take so much as six per cent. From the man of misery, who borrows but to save himself from starving...you may take as far as 20 per cent, and nobody takes less.[16]

The overall effectiveness of education in contributing to increased happiness was negated to some extent by the fact that the law was biased in favour of the Establishment. It failed to protect the interests of the most numerous class in society, which was consequently driven to extra-legal means to satisfy its needs. Consequently, Bentham pointed out that

> ...in regarding education as an indirect mode of preventing offences, it requires an essential reform. The most neglected class must become the principal object of care... These classes, absolutely neglected in most states, become the hotbeds of crime.[17]

The solution was for the government to step in and assume many of the obligations which parents in this class were not able to discharge. Youth was above all the period at which men could be most easily influenced towards those sorts of things which were in the public interest. Thus were conjoined the functions of the legislator and the educator.

Reference has already been made to Bentham's belief that the uninformed mind was more prone to violence than the educated one. In this respect he was in advance of the prevailing opinion of his time. Many of the bishops of the Church of England, for example, were against educating the people for fear that this would alienate them still further. Such sentiments commanded respect. Bentham was equally firm in the belief that not only should the people be educated, but that society had an obligation to do this. For him the object of education was to enable both the individual and the community in general to be happier. In that case to ask whether the poor ought to be educated was unnecessary. The answer to this hypothetical question was a foregone conclusion. For Bentham, instead, the real question was:

> ...by which is it most desirable that they should be occupied - by ideas beneficial or by ideas detrimental to happiness, in a word by evil or by good?[18]

It was beneficial to the community at large to disseminate appropriate knowledge as widely as possible. It was only when education was the monopoly of a few that mischief was done. Here Bentham was thinking principally of the way in which education had been abused by the Church and of the ways in which it had been made subservient to the interests of one ruling class or another. Bentham's claim was that

> When letters are a monopoly, fraud, clad in the mantle of religion, takes the place of governments, and seats herself on the throne. When have letters been productive of most mischief - in Egypt and Hindustan when the monopoly of them has given birth to distinction of castes....[19]

Bentham was aware that a little knowledge was a dangerous thing. His solution was not to deny the masses even that little knowledge they already possessed, but to combat the danger by increasing their knowledge. As proof of this belief, Bentham referred to the notion that

> the greatest crimes are those for which the slightest degree of knowledge is sufficient; the most ignorant individual always knows how to commit them...Inundation is a greater crime than incendiarism, incendiarism greater than murder, murder than robbery, robbery than cheating...the most atrocious of all only requi~~re~~s a degree of information which is found among the most barbarous and savage of men.[20]

He was willing to concede that wicked people would abuse everything, even knowledge. But he did not admit that this was sufficient reason to restrict it to a select few since "knowledge confers no advantage upon the wicked, except when they exclusively possess it."[21] Two further arguments were employed by Bentham in defence of this point. The first was his assertion that ignorance leads men to promote their own interests over those of society in general. As an example, Bentham referred to those occasions when the Church had in the past relied on proofs by fire and water, when "...in the infancy of reason, they had no principles upon which to discern between true and false testimony."[22] The second was the practice of censorship, to which of course Bentham was equally opposed. He believed that

> the liberty of the press has its inconveniences, but the evil which may result from it is not to be compared with the evil of the censorship...Who is the censor? He is an interested judge - a sole, an arbitrary judge, who carries on a clandestine process, condemns without hearing, and decides without appeal.[23]

The dissemination of knowledge was one means, for Bentham, of bringing about the realignment of power that was a necessary precondition to rule by the people. It would benefit the lower and the middle classes alike. As long as knowledge remained the monopoly of a few so they would retain power and use it to prevent the people from achieving their proper role in society. In these sentiments Bentham anticipated the later claims of the Society for the Dissemination of Useful Knowledge that

> knowledge, though commonly considered as distinct from power, is really a branch of it. It is a branch of power, whose seat is in the mind....[24]

Whatever reservations he may have had on the subject, his conclusion was that the happiness of the greatest number of people would be promoted by the diffusion and not the restriction of knowledge. This conclusion brought Bentham to consider both the formal and informal ways and means to disseminate knowledge.

This general diffusion of knowledge throughout society must, he believed, be based on three premises. First, it must conform to the Principle of Utility. Second, it must be comprehensive. Third, it must be systematic. All three qualities were essential to success; any element of ad hoc-ery would mean a return to the ineffectiveness of the existing system of poor relief. The result was Bentham's comprehensive scheme for the diffusion of useful knowledge throughout England. This involved a Minister of Education, a plan for the diffusion of art and science, a host of useful and accessible publications, practical financial and employment services, and the disseminating of knowledge about birth control amongst the poor who stood so much in need of it.

It was in his Constitutional Code that Bentham suggested the appointment of a Minister of Education, the first of his proposals that will be discussed. He suggested there would be a need for thirteen ministers in addition to the Prime Minister; one of these would be responsible for education. It was anticipated that the offices of these ministers would be adjacent to that of the Prime Minister who would be able to communicate with them by means of a set of conversation tubes with which Bentham had already experimented with this precise purpose in view.[25]

Acting under the authority of the Legislature and the Prime Minister, the Minister of Education would

> ...give execution and effort to all institutions, ordinances, and arrangements, emanating from the Legislature, in relation to the subject of education.[26]

Bentham then explained in detail the various functions the Minister would perform.[27]

The first of these has already been referred to, the others are as follows. First he was to direct all civil servants employed "in the business of Education" and to cooperate with the Finance Minister to ensure that the schools were adequately equipped, staffed, and administered. Second, he was to preside over public examinations for civil service positions to ensure the suitability of candidates who were appointed. In this case he would be assisted by other ministers whose own departments were concerned with the subject matter being examined at the time. Third, he was to oversee the inspection of all schools within the state to ensure that they came up to the required standards of instruction and administration. Where they did not he was to exercise what Bentham referred to as his "melioration - suggestive functions." Fourth, he was to ensure that there was no coercion of the pupils with respect to religion, morals, or government. Bentham was concerned here to ensure that pupils were not forced to accept any belief against their will. Almost certainly Bentham's concern was aroused by the policies of the Church of England which excluded non Anglicans from attending most schools and both the universities of England. Bentham maintained[28] that such institutions were "establishment(s) for the subornation of falsehood by irresistible means; falsehood, the appropriate instrument of crime in all its shapes." The government had thus a clear responsibility to remove the power of coercion in matters of religion and morals from the hands of individuals or groups. Fifth, whilst the minister had to inspect all schools he was not to interfere with them to ensure an undue degree of conformity "contrary to the opinions and wishes of the parties immediately concerned."[29] Such parties might be local groups, public bodies or individuals who were operating schools. Bentham was especially concerned that the Minister should refrain from giving offence to people with respect to religious beliefs held by them and specified that "no person may be debarred from maintaining and disseminating in relation to that subject (religion), any opinion whatsoever." People who accepted "erroneous opinions" would, of course, be responsible for any offences they might commit as a result. If the Minister did come across any particularly dangerous opinions which were likely to produce "mischief, by acts placed in the catalogue of offences" then he was to report these to the Legislature so that it might make arrangements to provide "appropriate instruction and learning" with a view to pointing out the erroneous beliefs and the dangerous acts such false beliefs might lead them into committing. Finally, the Minister of Education was to liaise with the Indigence-Relief Minister with a view to deciding what use could be made of orphans and child-paupers in populating the distant colonial territories. Bentham believed that this would reduce population pressures at home. The children would be provided with land and be given "appropriate preparatory education and instruction" prior to their being sent out, hence the relevance of the Minister of Education to the scheme.

The most ambitious scheme for informal education which Bentham drafted was his national plan for the diffusion of Art and Science. He proposed the division of the country into districts, each approximately the size of a county but more or less equal in size. In the central town of each district he proposed to establish seven "professors" who would teach respectively medicine; surgery and midwifery; veterinary medicine; chemistry; philosophy; botany and the other branches of natural history.[30] In addition, a hospital and an experimental farm would be set up under civil jurisdiction.

Such a plan would mean that each district would have available a medical doctor and a hospital as well as a veterinarian (who would more than earn his salary from the number of cattle he would save). The chemist would concern himself with agriculture and with local industries, as they related to his discipline. The botanist similarly (in cooperation with the chemist) would investigate such matters as cheaper methods of curing hemp and flax, and manufacturing paper. The natural historian would teach his pupils which of nature's creatures were their friends and which their enemies. As for the experimental farms there was, Bentham believed, no

> country so well replenished with knowledge, wealth, and zeal, as England, (since) there is no district which could not furnish an abundance of experiments in this department.[31]

What was badly needed in addition to the institutions was a method of collecting the information. Bentham recalled that "such a register England (had) once possessed in the work of the enlightened and patriotic Arthur Young."[32] The register, he proposed, would supplement and publicise the practical research conducted at the farm.

Despite the advantages of diffusing up to date knowledge by way of lecturing, Jeremy Bentham believed there were a number of subjects which might be learned from books

> such as the art of legislation, history in all its branches, moral philosophy and logic, comprehending metaphysics, grammar, and rhetoric.[33]

The government, therefore, ought to found a library of suitable literature in each district. The ancient languages of course would not be included since they did not repay the effort involved in learning them and in any case they were as soon forgotten as learned. Languages were useful only as sources of information and that was as easily obtained in translation. Their only other use was an ornamental one, that is, to provide politicians with a

> fund of allusions wherewith to ornament their speeches, their conversations and their books - too small a compensation for the false and narrow notions which custom continues to compel us to draw from these imperfect and deceptive sources.[34]

Bentham concluded that it was time that one ceased to plague children with them.

As teachers of these subjects, Bentham proposed to employ the clergy. They had time between services on a Sunday to teach those who could not attend at any other time, and such attendance would be better than "wasting it in that idleness and dissipation in which both health and money are so frequently lost."[35] To counteract what Bentham regarded as the undue emphasis placed on the dead languages, he suggested that the sovereign should reward those who taught the arts and sciences by awarding them titles and sinecures. It was expected that this would influence public opinion towards a new attitude towards knowledge. Alternatively, Bentham suggested making the holding of public office dependent upon previous attendance at a prescribed course of lectures. Such attendance would confer a degree of precedence, rather in the manner of a knighthood. On this account Bentham looked forward to the time when knowledge would confer a certain rank in society (as military prowess had in the past). He considered that

> wealth independently of any convention, possesses real power and will always mingle with everything which tends to confer respect. The philosopher, to his title of honour, will unite the idea of an individual sufficiently wealthy to have supported the expence of a learned education. Knowledge, ...might thus become a mark of distinction, as the length of the nails in China.[36]

At the very least, Bentham reckoned, "the most stupid and inattentive would scarcely attend upon a long course of instruction without gaining some advantage."[37] Both the plan for a Minister of Education and that for the Diffusion of Art and Science were predicated on the assumption of a large measure of government involvement in education. That, in itself, indicated a considerable departure from contemporary thought and practice.

Bentham subsequently elaborated upon these suggestions with his plan to establish an Education Encyclopaedia. It was to be "a collection of methodical treatises, with separate indexes, and a common index "[38] on subjects considered to be of universal use. In Bentham's view this necessarily meant omitting "whatever relates to religion because this cannot please one without giving disgust to another."[39] It also meant excluding Biography, Poetry, and Heraldry. A copy of the Encyclopaedia would be sent to every parish in the country there to be placed in the Vestry which was to be open at specified times ("the spare hours of Sunday" of course included) in order that the people might read it. This project did not get beyond the outline stage as Bentham's attention was directed to other things, though it was an idea he returned to briefly and inconclusively four years later, in 1800.

In that year Bentham drafted some marginal outlines for a Plan of Irish Education, and included as part of this a plan for a parochial library.[40] It also encompassed the publication of a Public Newspaper which was to be sent free to the parishes. This was to be read in the Churches (Bentham suggested that when it was read in church the Irish news should be kept to the last so that people would stay in church longer to hear it).[41] He did not feel that this would be a profane act (at least not more so than the conversations people would in any case indulge in). It might even end with a prayer for grace "to give it a pious and moral application." The newspapers would also serve a social purpose.[42] Bentham obviously felt that this was important for he returned to it again in a section entitled "Uses of reading to the labouring classes". As he saw the situation there were four of these. They were

> 1 To soften either manners by diversing their attention from mischievous pursuits.

2 To increase the chance of extraordinary labours of genius.

3 To guard them against mischievous error and imposition of every kind.

4 To facilitate the intercourse of governments with them.[43]

Unfortunately (perhaps because of the opprobrium in which Bentham was held in some influential quarters by the year 1800) this scheme did not come to fruition either.

When he turned his attention to providing practical help to those afflicted with problems of unemployment and financial need, Bentham devised a variety of services that he was pleased to refer to as the "system of collateral uses" of his Houses of Industry. These provide several excellent examples of the informal educational nature of this his greater scheme, and gave substance to his claim that it was useless to theorise unless one also provided some real and viable practical alternatives.

There are two major reasons why Bentham drafted this extensive section on the extra uses which ought to be made of the Houses of Industry. The first was an economic one. The Houses were there and to Bentham it seemed only logical to use them for as many purposes as possible in order to get as much value from labour as possible. In this way the profitability of the enterprise would be raised to a peak. Earlier in the scheme Bentham had emphasised that in all aspects of the enterprise versatility and universality of use, whether it be of tools or people, should be aimed at. What he did in the collateral uses section of the Plan was to put that into effect. Thus, he reckoned,

> When a service if fixed upon, for the sake of which the expence of an establishment edificial and official is thought fit to be incurred, a door is oftentime opened to a provision for a multitude of other services which not being separately capable of paying for the expence could not with propriety have received a separate establishment...the art of multiplying services, of grafting many services upon one establishment may one day perhaps be thought to have a claim to notice.
>
> In point of principle at least, whatsoever may become of practice, it will hardly be denied, that wherever the burthen of an establishment is imposed upon a nation, it ought to be turned to as good an account as possible in the way of use, and as great a body of service as possible extracted from it in all shapes.[44]

A closer look at the types of extra services that Bentham had in mind brings one to the second reason why he felt that they were necessary. An Employment Register, a Savings Bank, and an Annuity Bank would be of comparatively little use to the inmates of the House of Industry. So much is self evident. Why then set them up? The reason, of course, is that these services were not primarily intended for the "permanent stock" but for the independent poor living outside the Houses. Indeed, in announcing his Plan, Bentham had claimed that it would benefit the independent as well as the dependent poor. This accounts for his stipulation that the type of work undertaken in the Houses should not compete with that done by the independent labourer.

In suggesting the Collateral Uses Bentham was attempting to make good his earlier promise of benefits to the independent poor by providing practical help in the way of needed facilities and services. He stipulated that

> the list of these uses may for the greater facility of conception be distributed in the first place into four groups distinguished according to the nature of the additional benefits which the principal institution may, in each case, be made to afford, the first *pecuniary* having respect to the money concerns of the Poor, the second *itinerary* having respect to the needs they may have, either by their own choice or by appointment of law, to migrate from place to place; the third *medical*, having respect to the aids of different sorts that might be grafted with advantage upon the provision which in every establishment for the relief of the poor must be made for their medical assistance; the fourth, *institutional*, having respect to the provision that in every district must be made in the way of *education* for such of the Poor who through non-age standing in need of guardianship, and through misfortune finding themselves destitute of *natural* guardians are pleased by necessity under the guardianship of the State.[45]

As the programme was published in the *Annals*, Bentham dealt first with the Promulgatory uses, and he had two major functions in mind here. The first was to provide information on employment that was available, the second to facilitate the securing of it. In respect of the first Bentham took the view that if the demand for labour was not known to those who sought work, then it might just as well not exist. Bentham concerned himself with two projects here. The first was to print, at the Company's expense, an Employment Gazette. This would list employment that was available all over the country. It would be readily available to all those seeking work, at the House of Industry.[46] Indeed, Bentham suggested that it be printed on one side of the paper only so that it might then be stuck on the walls of the approach to the House, to be the more accessible. In addition, he envisaged that it would also be read in church

> and by means of suitable comments and offices, be engrafted into the liturgy: prayers (depracatory) for the unprosperous, thanksgivings for the prosperous parts, of the results. An office of this kind would come home to the business and bosoms of the audience; it would be congenial to that gospel in which the concerns of the poor are the objects of such anxious and distinguished notice.[47]

Typically, Bentham also saw that it might be used for a variety of other purposes as well, principally as an escape list giving details of escapees, their identification marks and rewards for their apprehension.[48] Whatever expense was incurred would be recouped by "indemnification at a later stage of the business"; presumably by some sort of commission.

The second use was to set up a system of intelligence offices where people could make specific inquiries as opposed to the more general type in the Gazette. Such offices

> would convey to the ears of the industrious all over the kingdom, the information of each place at which there happens to be an extraordinary demand for work.[49]

The information having been provided, the industrious worker would then set off in pursuit of work. This brings one to the Itinerary uses of the houses. It made no sense to point to the need for work without providing the means to obtain it. Consequently, Bentham proposed to use the Houses as

> Places of rest or Inns at and by means of which the poor in the course of their migrations may at the cheapest rate be provided with food and lodging and convey themselves or be conveyed from House to House in a manner suitable to their respective circumstances.[50]

Since such an hospital service was to be provided, Bentham saw no reason why it, too, should not be made available to other groups of people who were obliged to travel (for example, soldiers, mariners, Messengers in the King's Service, and soldiers in the service of the East India Company). For the infirm, and for children, asses would be kept at the Houses and the milk sold to those of the sick who would benefit from it. The cost of all this service, it was estimated, would amount to 3d per man per day.[51]

The Houses might also be pressed into service for the criminal classes to facilitate "the passing of delinquents and supposed delinquents and for the conveyance of debtors to prison under Arrest."[52] A strong room might be constructed to accommodate people travelling under custody, or for debtors. Here Bentham perceived the possibility of yet another profitable use; that of keeping debtors in the House instead of sending them to gaol. In this way they might be able to repay their debts. Bentham recalled that

> It is an old saying, and hitherto but too true an one, that Prisons pay no Debts; it might cease to be so were this idea adopted.[53]

A group of services designed to be of very direct use to the poor were those concerned with finance. The Friendly Societies already existed, but Bentham maintained an ambivalent attitude towards them. They did have some advantages in that they attempted to help the poor to save, but they also had defects in the way they operated. Bentham suggested that in their operation "Fear rather than hope, the view of pain rather than of pleasure, is there the operating motive."[54]

Perhaps Bentham's major objection to the Friendly Societies was that their offices tended to be located in public houses. Since Bentham was attempting to help the poor to save money he reckoned that to oblige them to go into a public house for any reason was to expose them to unnecessary temptation. He concluded that

> if there were any option in the case, choosing a tippling house for a school of frugality, would be like choosing a brothel, for a school of continence.[55]

The financial services envisaged by Bentham really fall into three categories. The first is the relief of temporary indigence. The second is the provision of savings banks. The third is the setting up of facilities for sending money safely from one place to another. For the first Bentham had two schemes in mind; a loan service and a mortgage service. It frequently happened, he said, that all people needed in the way of relief was a temporary loan to tide them over a difficult period. In that case

> the Governor of each Industry House with the probity and assistance of the Chaplain might be empowered and required to lend money upon pledges to the Poor of all descriptions meant to be favoured in these particulars at rates inferior to those taken by private Pawnbrokers. Preventing indigence is still better than relieving it, especially where, as here, the prevention of it may be altogether unattended by expense...[56]

Bentham suggested that six per cent interest would be adequate. For the second,

> the same species of inexpensive charity might be extended to the case of Mortgages. a man can neither eat his House, nor carry it to Market. He may be the owner of the cottage he lives in, or of property to a much superior amount and yet be in a state of extreme distress for want of the necessities of life. A few pounds or even a few shillings advanced in time might set him at his ease, but the hand to advance them is not always to be found.[57]

As a lawyer, Bentham was aware that the legal charges involved in obtaining assistance in any other form were out of all proportion to the sums involved and virtually prohibited the poor from borrowing.[58]

As far as savings facilities were concerned, Bentham was well aware of the difficulties encountered by the poor. He observed that

> Men of the opulent classes are little aware of the obstacles which men of the labouring classes experience to their wishes of placing in security the pittance which prudence would enable them to snatch from the jaws of appetite. They might lock it up: but the box, if small, might itself be stolen...[59]

Neither was it only that there were physical difficulties, since

> the difficulty of resisting the incitement to expense afforded by the sensible presence of money is a difficulty which comparing men with men in an adult state will be found to press with peculiar form against the Poor: the comparative weakness of their facilities, moral and intellectual, the result of the want of education, assimilates their condition in this particular to that of minors.[60]

The remedy to this latter defect was, of course, to expose them to the right kind of educational influences, but that would take time. Of more immediate use would be to provide them with facilities to save their money. There were three methods which Bentham had in mind. The first was to act as an agent (despite his misgivings as to the way they were currently constituted) for the Friendly Societies. In this way the poor would not have to enter the ale-house.

The second was to use the Houses as Savings, or Frugality Banks. The Governor would undertake to keep small cash sums entrusted to his care in safety and to restore them to their owners on demand.[61] The Frugality Banks are interesting as being an early detailed scheme for savings banks. It was Bentham's expectation that the sums paid in to the bank would be gradually allowed to accumulate for application to some specific purpose.[62] In this way Bentham hoped to produce a longer-term period of financial stability for the married couple. He even hoped that such financial well-being would come to be accepted as a necessary pre-condition before a girl would accept the hand of her suitor.[63] This facility was not to be regarded as an inducement to marriage but only to happier marriages.[64]

The third was to facilitate the remittance of money by the poor since the cost of doing this otherwise was prohibitive. Bentham commented, that

> everything goes on smoothly in the transactions of people in easy circumstances; everything goes on raggedly, if at all, in the transactions of the Poor. Paper gives wings to money for the benefit of the rich: but the poor man's money is all lead...A dutiful child who has quitted his native cottage for employment might send a few shillings as he could save and spare them to assist an aged parent in his struggles against indigence...[65]

The cost of sending such small sums was disproportionately high. A man might send £500 for what it would cost him to send half a crown. The Industry Houses (which would have the organization and the facilities already) might do this at a fraction of the cost.

There remain two further functions which are of special interest here as integral parts of Bentham's plan to diffuse useful knowledge amongst the poor and so preserve them from a state of pain which would diminish their happiness. The first is Bentham's idea that the Houses should serve the poor in a domestic capacity, the second that they should serve society at large in a military one. With respect to the first of these there were a number of uses that Bentham had in mind. First, as a reformatory, it would be a useful tool in the bringing to heel of bad wives, bad husbands, bad children, and bad apprentices. Similarly, it might be a useful asylum for all those, but particularly wives, who wished to escape from domestic tyranny. When eventually a reconciliation was achieved it would "restore the fugitive, without spot or suspicion, to the marital arms."[66] Secondly, it might serve as a place of refuge for unemployed females, repentant whores, and "friendless females at the approach of the perilous age."[67] Thirdly, it would be a guarantee of reputation and chastity and an asylum for the lower classes who formed the bulk of the community. Bentham once again pressed the Employment Gazette into service as a means of publishing the various points of good character a person had been able to muster whilst in the place of asylum and so increase his chances of employment. Fourthly, the Houses would act as "nurseries" for the army and the navy. (Those located near the sea could catch fish for the other houses and also act [illegible] signalling stations). There was nothing strange to Bentham that such a multiplicity of functions would all take place in the same institution. All were designed to serve the needs of the lower classes. In any house at all, he reasoned, the same room might serve a variety of functions, and

> Let it not be imagined, that because the place is the same, the treatment given in it may not be infinitely diversified.[68]

The other great collateral use of the Houses of Industry was to use them as centres for the dissemination of useful knowledge. In his work The Principles of Penal Law, Bentham had made reference to the value and use of knowledge. He wrote that knowledge is a branch of power whose seat is in the mind.[69] He suggested that it conferred the means to pursue an objective and that it endowed the capacity to achieve it. This was, in essence, the "plastic power" to which he referred in his work on the Poor Law. In saying this he was pointing out the contrast between useful and useless knowledge (the latter did not confer any power at all on the recipient). Nowhere is this distinction, and Bentham's concern for its practical application, more evident than in his scheme for the dissemination of useful knowledge through the Houses of Industry. This concern was incorporated in the Plan when Bentham realized that the practical facilities for the application of useful knowledge by the poor, together with the knowledge itself, were lacking. Bentham proposed to disseminate the knowledge in two ways. The first was to teach the apprentices in the houses. When they achieved their independence, they would practice outside what they had learned inside the houses. Others would see, and hopefully follow, such good examples. The second method was to admit outsiders directly and instruct them in the various "useful" branches of knowledge.[70] A few examples of the subjects and methods which Bentham had in mind in this respect are quoted by way of illustration.

First of all, midwifery. This was as practical an art as it was possible to imagine; yet the poor were beset by almost total ignorance of it. To lift this veil of ignorance wuold provide direct and immediate benefit to the lower classes who, after all, did produce most of the children. The Houses of Industry would be utilised in this way,[71] by requiring the medical curator to give lectures on this subject to the female inmates in the House (the females only because

> The natural advantages which the female sex has over the male, in relation to this particular branch of medical practice, the symptomatic sensations and experiences common to the one sex, and in so great a degree, unintelligible and uncommunicable to the other, are too evident to need insisting on:)[72]

Midwifery would in any case be carried on. The only question for Bentham was whether it would be so by ill qualified persons as at present, or by better qualified ones.[73] Bentham's mind turned also to the financial aspects of such a scheme. First, no payment ought to be made to midwives unless they had attended the proposed course of instruction.[74] Further, the pay of the midwife was to be tied to her practical success (half of the agreed fee being deducted if either the mother or child died within a month. If twins were involved then the penalty would be doubled). Third, the medical curator was not to be paid extra for this tuition. Bentham constantly found more and more duties for the various officers of the Houses. The medical curator and the Chaplain had so many extra duties foisted on them that they would have had a very full day indeed if the scheme had been put into operation.

As in his scheme for the diffusion of Art and Science, veterinary science was considered vitally important. Bentham had in mind

> a further use that might be made of the medical strength of each Industry House, a use of less real dignity than the foregoing, though on the other hand less exposed to silly ridicule, is that of affording a system of instruction in the veterinary art or science: that useful, though unexpressively and therefore unfortunately denominated art, which occupies itself with the prevention of diseases and accidents to Horses, and other domestic and serviceable animals.[75]

Bentham's feelings here were prompted by the realization that the profession was not highly esteemed, yet animals were valuable.[76] What was done in the way of veterinary care was done by ill-qualified farriers. Bentham's suggestion was therefore to gather seventy or eighty local farriers (provided they were recommended by the minister and churchwardens) and teach them to be veterinarians. If they had to travel to attend the lectures, then they should be given a free meal,[77] or it would be sold to them! The lectures were to take place after Church[78] since

> both attendances will be so many respites from the Tippling-house: both studies so many rivals to the attractive powers of drunkenness...The common recipe for making men religious is by forcing them to be idle. By barring the door of every other place where occupation of any kind, amusing or profitable, innocent or pernicious is to be had...What seems to have been not enough considered is that close to and at the right hand of the Church, stands the Tippling-house: and that the gate of the Tippling-house is the Great Gate (Matt VII, 13).[79]

At this point Bentham went into considerable detail on the course and progress of study, the prizes for good students, and the connection between the farrier and the veterinarian.[80]

Still on the subject of medicine, Bentham suggested yet a further use for the Houses, that of "making them answer the Purpose of Medical Dispensaries in favour of the independent poor...relief being administered to each patient at his own home."[81] The usual objections to out relief would not be applicable here since the occasion was a purely casual one[82] and in any case nobody wanted to be ill, so out relief might be given with impunity.[83] Naturally, the medical curator would operate this service, too, and equally without any thought (or realisation) of extra pay.

In addition to these practical services Bentham envisaged that the Houses would be in a position to provide a wealth of information needed by the scientific community. For example, the medical histories of the inhabitants would be readily available, as would information on such topics as their diet, the effect of "fermented liquors"[84] and the temperature necessary or desirable for healthy living. (Some apartments would be kept deliberately hotter, others somewhat cooler). The whole field of "domestic economy" was similarly to be the field of experimentation designed to furnish useful information.[85]

In all, Bentham listed eleven branches of science to which the Houses of Industry might contribute useful information.[86] In some cases instruction would be given to the inmates of the House, in others to the independent poor, in others again to both.

There is, in conclusion, one area in which Bentham took a close theoretical interest and which was of very obvious use to the lower classes. That is the matter of population limitation. Bentham was interested in this field for two reasons. The first was his involvement in political economy, the second his belief that much of the misery of the poor (and hence the reason why they were a threat to property) was due to their increasing numbers which made it impossible for them to improve their position.

Bentham had first addressed himself to this aspect of population limitation in 1793 when he wrote his Manual of Political Economy. There, in a passage written discreetly in Latin,[87] Bentham made reference to the idea that population was increasing at a much faster rate than was capital. He recommended contraception (without being too explicit as to method or detail) as an effective means to prevent this continuing. Bentham's use of Latin was not because of fear or timidity. It was simply due to the fact that as a lawyer he realized the value of circumspection and on this occasion at least he practised it.

He returned to this idea briefly in the Poor Law scheme with a reference to the idea that when all available land had been taken up and occupied, the attention of governors would

> be directed to the arrestment of population, as now to the increase: and what is now stigmatised as vice will then receive the treatment if not the name of virtue.[88]

For the time being he was happy that economic growth was healthy enough to be able to cope with increasing populations, and viewed colonisation and widespread contraception as future solutions. In the Pannomial Fragments written in 1831, however, he took a rather more sombre point of view.

The Poor Plan is also interesting on this subject in another respect. There, Bentham advocated contraception as a means to control population. He also makes some reference to contraceptive methods. The passage in question is the following:

> Come, my Oedipus, here is another riddle for you: solve it, or by Apollo! - You remember the penalty for not solving riddles. - Rates are encroaching things. You, as well as another illustrious friend of mine, are, I think, for limiting them. - Limit them? - Agreed. - But how? - not by a prohibitory act -a remedy which would neither be applied nor, if applied, be effectual - not by a dead letter, but by a living body: a body which, to stay the plague, would, like Phineas, throw itself into the gap; yet not, like Curtius, be swallowed up in it.
>
> When I speak of limitation, do not suppose that limitation would content me. My reverend friend, hurried away by the torrent of his own eloquence, drove beyond you, and let drop something about a spunge. I too have my spunge; but that a slow one, and not quite so rough an one. Mine goes, I promise you, into the fire, the instant you can show me that a single particle of necessity is deprived by it of relief.[90]

There are a number of reasons why this passage is important. The first is that in it Bentham recognised that contraception would be a remedy to the problems of poverty and the expense of its relief, albeit a slow one. The second is that he also recognised that this solution was a much more realistic one in terms of human happiness than abstinence would be. (Particularly when in the same plan he wrote that all the time of life which might have been spent in the married state and is not is so much happiness lost). In effect what Bentham is advocating is the happiness of marriage without the pain of unwanted pregnancies. The third reason is that Bentham here linked the question of contraception with the problem of reducing the poor rates and advocated the employment of the former as a means to attain the latter. Fourth, he seemed to go one stage further and advocate the method of contraception to be used (i.e., the use of a sponge), and that before Malthus's Essay appears. In any case, Malthus was opposed to contraception, but in favour of abstinence. Bentham, for all his lack of knowledge about human nature, realised that that was an unrealistic solution.

In imposing the distinction between schooling (with its overtones of formal, institutionalised and systematic instruction) and education (perhaps institutionalised in some respects but generally less formal and prescribed) Bentham was emphasising the importance of those informal modes of education, the efficacy of which had generally been either under-estimated or entirely overlooked. Since all the experiences which accrued to the individual were in one way or another educational and since the aim of education was to increase the happiness of the individual and the community, it was obvious that in any tallying of happiness promoting agents the generally neglected informal educational agencies would have to be included. These were the educational means which provided not only instruction (in however informal a sense) but also practical help in the struggle to attain happiness for those members of the community who were, Bentham felt, the most vulnerable to exploitation and consequently were the most exploited. In response to this, Bentham developed a positive commitment to the diffusion of useful, accurate, and up to date information which would help the poor to understand the factors which adversely affected their lives such as unemployment, financial instability, moral degeneracy, and unwise use of resources and time, in the confident expectation that with such understanding would come also the means of control.

The increased happiness gained would benefit both the individuals involved and also the community at large by negating the threat to any abrupt change in the social order and by doing so at the minimum of loss. Hence, the systematic diffusion of useful knowledge, the effective dissemination of the printed word, the judicious use which might be made of the Houses of Industry, and popularisation of the idea of population limitation and the means to attain it were, for Bentham, important educational devices. As such they complement the Houses of Industry, the Panopticon, and the schools in Bentham's comprehensive scheme of education without deviating from his conceptual framework dictated by the Greatest Happiness Principle.

Footnotes to Chapter 6

1. Bentham, J. An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation. Ed. J.H. Burns and H.L.A. Hart. London, 1970, p. 11/12.

2. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., 149, 92.

3. Ibid., 149, 107.

4. Ibid., 149, 107.

5. Ibid., 149, 69.

6. Woodford, James. The Diary of a Country Parson, 1758-1802. J. Beresford (Ed.), O.U.P., London, 1949.

7. Ibid., 29th July, 1762.

8. Ibid., 28th August, 1765.

9. Ibid., 14th-15th April, 1768.

10. Ibid., 12th January, 1768.

11. Ibid., 18th July, 1775.

12. Ibid., 22nd July, 1777.

13. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., 7, 108-160.

14. These included such agencies as the Corresponding Societies, the Society for the Suppression of Vice, the Select Committee of the House of Commons, the Society for the Establishment and Support of Sunday Schools Throughout the Kingdom of Great Britain, the various hospital societies, and Jonas Hanway's Marine Society.

15. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., 152a, 83.

16. Ibid., 152a, 89.

17. Bentham, J. Works, 1, p. 570.

18. Bentham, J., MSS, U.C.L., 153a, 109.

19. Ibid., 149, 108.

20. Bentham, J. Works, I, 536-7.

21. Ibid., 1, 537.

22. Ibid., 1, 537.

23. Ibid., 1, 537.

24. Ibid., 1, 536.

25. Ibid., IX, p. 452.

26. Ibid., IX, p. 441.

27. Ibid., IX, p. 441-443.

28. Ibid., IX, p. 442.

29. Ibid., IX, p. 442.

30. Ibid., II, p. 257.

31. Ibid., II, p. 257.

32. Ibid., II, p. 257.

33. Ibid., II, p. 258.

34. Ibid., II, p. 258.

35. Ibid., II, p. 258.

36. Ibid., II, p. 259.

37. Ibid., II, p. 260.

38. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., 107, 37.

39. Ibid., 107, 37.

40. Ibid., 106, 76.

41. Ibid., 106, 77.

42. Bentham advocated this since he believed that newspapers were an effective way for governments to communicate with the people and a principal means of "teaching them the virtues of submission and good order." MSS, U.C.L., 106, 76.

43. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., 106, 77.

44. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., 152a, 71.

45. Ibid., 152a, 73.

46. Bentham, J. In The Annals of Agriculture, etc. Vol. 30, p. 281.

47. Ibid., Vol. 30, p. 290.

48. Ibid., Vol. 30, p. 289.

49. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., 152a, 125.

50. Ibid., 152a, 121.

51. Ibid., 152a, 122.

52. Ibid., 152a, 126.

53. Ibid., 152a, 128.

54. Ibid., 152a, 115.

55. Bentham, J. in The Annals of Agriculture, 30, p. 473.

56. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., 152a, 77.

57. Ibid., 152a, 81.

58. Ibid., 152a, 82.

59. Ibid., 152a, 110.

60. Ibid., 152a, 109.

61. Ibid., 152a, 98.

62. Marriage provided an example of a possible use as this was one area in which the financial incompetence of the poor had most frequently shown itself.

63. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., 152a, 104.

64. Ibid., 152a, 108.

65. Ibid., 152a, 94.

66. Bentham, J. in The Annals of Agriculture etc., Vol. 30, p. 499.

67. Ibid., Annals, 30, p. 500.

68. Ibid., 30, p. 501.

69. Bentham, J. Works, I, p. 536.

70. Most of these were concerned with the natural or physical sciences such as medicine in its various forms, mechanics and chemistry, domestic economy, husbandry, meterology, and logic.

71. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., 153a, 132.

72. Ibid., 152a, 132.

73. Ibid., 152a, 136.

74. Ibid., 152a, 137.

75. Ibid., 152a, 147.

76. Ibid., 152a, 146.

77. Ibid., 152a, 153.

78. Ibid., 152a, 154.

79. Ibid., 152a, 155.

80. For further information see MSS, U.C.L., 152a, 156-163, and Appendix J.

81. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., 152a, 164.

82. Ibid., 152a, 165.

83. Ibid., 152a, 165.

84. Bentham, J. Here it was intended that the youth should be permanently excluded from contact with alcoholic beverages and that a basis for useful comparison with the "old stagers" would thereby be established. The Annals of Agriculture, Vol. 31, p. 54.

85. Bentham, J. The Annals of Agriculture, Vol. 31, p. 55.

86. These are: Medicine - surgery; Medicine - diet; Mechanics; Chemistry; Domestic Economy; Technical Economy; Husbandry; Meterology; Book-keeping; Logic; Veterinary Medicine. Annals, ed. A. Young, Vol. 31, pp. 52-64.

87. For details refer to Appendix K.

88. Bentham, J. MSS, U.C.L., 151, 108.

89. Bentham, J. Pannomial Fragments, Vol. I, ed. Stark, pp. 109-111.

90. Bentham, J. Annals of Agriculture, Vol. 29, pp. 422-3.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

In this work it has been suggested that for Jeremy Bentham and many of his contemporaries, the poor (and certainly the indigent amongst them) presented both a problem which had to be solved and a threat to the established order. They were a problem and a threat for a number of reasons. The first of these was their numbers. Already numerically the largest of the social classes, they were increasing at a seemingly alarming rate. Many of them were incapable of or unwilling to maintain themselves in an independent state and had come to depend on public charity. Others took to crime as a way of life and consequently became not only a public menace but also a further expense and burden to the industrious and tax paying members of the community. All of them were ignorant and needed not only to be instructed but also to be shown how to control their own situation, how to handle their resources, how to obtain gainful employment, how to help themselves, and how to maintain their own bodily health and avoid excessively large families. Indeed, they had of late begun to show a lamentable tendency to imbibe dangerous foreign notions of equality, fraternity and, above all, liberty. If this was allowed to proceed unchecked, then it seemed that the whole natural order of society would be disturbed.

Such was the nature of the problem. The threat came from the effect this would have on two areas of special concern to the middle classes. The first of these was property.

It was property which primarily distinguished the middle classes from those below them. Bentham had early insisted that security of property was one of the essential reasons for the existence of government. An increasingly numerous, criminally inclined, and morally bereft pauper population, inflamed by ideas of equality, posed, it seemed, an obvious threat to the sanctity of property. The second was that from the last few decades of the eighteenth century on the middle classes were attempting to secure to themselves a greater measure of political representation and power, and they had no intention of sharing this with a now politically aware, but socially inferior, group of people.

Viewed in this light the dilemma of the middle classes becomes clearer; they were faced with a problem, a threat, and a series of challenges, and all of these had to be resolved. In the solving of them education was destined to play an important role. There were those who reasoned that an educated proletariat would misuse its new found powers, read the wrong things, and so make even more acute an already grave situation. Others believed that education could be employed to impress on the lower orders the realisation that their interests would best be served by not turning upside down the status quo. Whichever side was right, the importance of education in resolving the dilemma was undeniable.

Of particular concern to Bentham was the fact that it was the lower orders of society which had the greatest share of the misery that was produced by this situation since the material wealth and education of the other classes insulated them from it. He took it, therefore, as his primary object in life to reduce their unhappiness as much as possible whilst augmenting their pleasure.

The solution that was proposed by Bentham was primarily an educational one. He believed that all men ought to be happy. The purpose of education was to prepare men to acquire the skills, habits and knowledge necessary to achieve happiness. The Principle of Utility demanded that the rightness of every action be judged by its tendency to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people affected by it. Since all men ought to be happy, then all had to be educated. It did not follow, however, that all men had to be educated in the same way, since to educate people in such a way as to arouse in them desires which could never be satisfied would be to make some men very unhappy. Hence, Bentham's notion of education had a distinct social class basis.

Bentham's solution had also to satisfy three other criteria. First, it had to guarantee the continued security of property. Second, it had to be cheap. Third, it ought to encourage the poor to be industrious.

Bentham was perceptive enough to realise that formal instruction would not be, of itself, sufficient. Hence, the solution proposed by Bentham, came in the form of a variety of institutional responses in each of which education played a large and vital role.

In the Houses of Industry education had an all pervasive role and schooling a specific part. Both were combined with labour, to teach the virtue of hard work and to provide some residual skills, whilst at the same time making a profit for the National Charity Company. All were to be admitted who wished to be, and all would work in some capacity. The apprentices would learn a trade which they would practice when they left, and the health and morals of all would be safeguarded. The children would learn to read and write and all inmates would be given a "useful" education. By "useful" is meant here that they would acquire skills and attitudes which would make them independent of public charity. In their formal instruction they would be taught simple concepts and ideas first, the maximum use would be made of visual aids to instruction, monitors would be employed so as to keep instruction costs to a minimum, and they would not be physically abused or insulted. The entire educational process, and that included everything that happened in the houses, would be carried out according to clearly defined management principles which would ensure virtuous living and increased happiness for all by tieing the financial rewards of the managers to their own success in operating the Houses.

Hence, Bentham's solution to the problem of pauperism was not just an administrative one, though it was certainly strong in that respect. It was not simply a question of eligibility: its most important aspect was its educational dimension.

Similarly, the Panopticon scheme was not simply "a mill for grinding rogues honest" but was also a device for making "idle men industrious". Here, formal instruction and manual labour were combined so that, by enforced virtuous living and a variety of other informal educational techniques, men would be brought to a realisation that crime did not pay and that their true happiness lay in government by virtuous men and an acceptance of the rules of society.

Bentham proposed a uniquely constructed prison based on the notion that if the inmates believed they were being observed at all times and were prevented from finding out that they were not then they would conform to the rules and become virtuous. They would work at useful trades which would provide a continuing source of personal income after their release whilst making the whole scheme a financially profitable one. Young prisoners and the children of older ones would be taught reading and writing plus a variety of other "useful" subjects. Once again the management principles, that it be cheap and humane, that it not be retributive, that it be useful, that the treatment accorded the inmates should be consistent, were clearly defined by Bentham with his customary attention to detail. Here again, the element of deterrence is only as strong as the desire to educate and reform. Both aspects are present, both are essential, and both are complementary.

Formal schooling was also pressed into service as a means of resolving the problems of crime and indigence. The wayward child, who posed a special type of problem for society, was certainly not overlooked by Bentham. It was through a consistent programme of schooling that his reformation was to be achieved. Indeed, the reforming element in Bentham's solution is seen most clearly of all as the role he assigned to schooling in specially designed institutions. Each house of industry was to have a school in which children would be taught useful knowledge and skills designed to make them industrious, independent, reliable and loyal members of society content with their station and lot which had been ordained for them. The children were to be resident in the houses in order to prevent the vitiating effects associated with the home and parents from having a contrary effect upon them. Bentham anticipated so much success with the scheme that parents would willingly consign their offspring to the Company which would then control their living arrangements, their food, their clothing, protect their morals, and provide them with healthy and useful exercise whilst furnishing them with early entry to the comforts of matrimony.

Recourse was made, too, to resources of a less formal instructional but no less educational nature. The collateral uses of the Houses of Industry, by which they would provide savings bank and money transferring facilities for the poor, along with information about available employment and cheap accommodation for people seeking it out, where people could go for medical attention and medicines, where sailors could be trained as well as veterinarians and musicians, and where useful information on domestic economy would be readily available, provide a few examples of such. Other measures which Bentham had in mind included the appointment of a Minister of Education who would ensure adequate standards of instruction in all schools, a national system of education available to all at minimum cost, the founding of libraries to make useful information available to all at little cost, and the publicising of information about contraceptive techniques. Such services would benefit the poor to a significant extent and contribute in a marked way to their increased happiness. Bentham viewed the poor as children, who whilst they were ignorant, occasionally wilfull, frequently idle, sometimes vindictive and usually ungrateful, had legitimate claims to increased happiness and an equal share in the dimunition of pain which would accompany it.

In concerning himself with education, Bentham had a number of objectives which he expected to attain. Foremost amongst these, as always, was to increase the happiness of as many of his fellow men as possible. To aim at anything less than this would be to be inconsistent with the Principle of Utility.

There are, however, a number of other expectations which Bentham entertained. In the formulation of the

Principle of Utility, indeed since his first encounter with Blackstone, Bentham had realised that there were inequities and inconsistencies in both men and society as a whole. It thus became a major part of Bentham's aim to seek out and expose corruption and injustice. Hence, the emphasis in his various schemes on practical reforms, government responsibility, and constitutional reform. His expectation was that men would be morally transformed so that in acting for themselves they would also be acting for the common good. His approach in this was, consequently, to develop a consistent and systematic approach to solving the problems of society. His aim was to develop what he was pleased to refer to as the "art/science of government." The importance of government intervention with all the power of coercion and persuasion that such bodies have cannot be over emphasised. One of Bentham's major contributions to education, due to his unique insight, was his appreciation of the close and necessary relationship it must have to government. Here again, he viewed them as being mutually complementary.

In addressing himself specifically to the problems of the poor, Bentham had two additional expectations. The first was to alleviate their discontent and improve their condition by means of practical schemes, so that they, too, would share equally in the increased happiness. This was to be done in a humane, systematic, comprehensive and inexpensive way. The second was to, at the same time, advance the position and influence of the middle classes as being the only social group with the education, talent, time, and will, to bring about the reforms which he regarded as essential.

It is difficult to assess accurately the precise significance in historical terms of any of the figures who appear to have influenced the history of man. Claudius, Alfred, Henry VIII, George III, Gladstone, Churchill: all have been the subjects of study by revisionists as historians over the past century or so have paid increasing attention to this aspect of their craft.[1] Bentham, of course, is no exception to this process of historical re-evaluation. In evaluating Bentham's significance in the history of education, Weber's[2] distinction between causal and representative significance is particularly helpful. By the former is implied a definite, necessary, logical, causal relationship between an historical personage or event and subsequent happenings. The latter, particularly useful in studies of a biographical nature, presents an historical figure as providing some clues to the intellectual, moral, and social climate of his times.

As far as Jeremy Bentham, in particular, is concerned, his causal significance is difficult to establish, particularly when such a relationship is placed in the context of 19th century history. It does seem, however, that Bentham may have had some causal significance on later developments in the nineteenth century in the fields of jurisprudence, the poor laws and their application, prison reform, popular education and social matters concerned particularly with public health. This becomes more apparent when one considers that innovations in these fields were frequently made along lines that he had advocated and by men who had been his close associates.

Bentham, his friends and successors in the tradition of philosophic radicalism were, above all else, "rationalists and individualists."[3] Collectively and under the leadership of Bentham, they pointed out to their contemporaries that Great Britain, which had once legitimately claimed to be ahead of her European neighbours in the fields of justice for the people, economic theory, the administration of public charity, the provision of humane prisons, progressive education and social reform was now, particularly after 1815, seriously behind those same countries.

On the domestic scene many reforms were instituted in the eighty years or so after Bentham's death which do reflect his ideas. Many of them were, in fact, initiated by his own disciples foremost amongst whom were Brougham, Mackintosh, Macaulay, Wakefield, Grote, John Stuart Mill, Buller, Chadwick and Roebuck. The influence of Bentham's thought on these individuals and on later developments in the field of poor law administration, prison reform, and formal and informal education, the areas which have formed the subject of the greater part of this study, is easy enough to discern.

The Poor Law Commission which was set up in 1822 under the leadership of Edwin Chadwick and which submitted its Report in 1834, put into effect in a modified form many of the proposals which had been put forward by Bentham in 1797-1798, and it did so in accordance with those principles which had guided Bentham himself.[4] The work-houses which resulted were in their material appearance, method of operation and theoretical principle the direct descendants of the Houses of Industry which had earlier been suggested by Bentham. To their inmates they were bastilles and inspired a fear and a hatred which survived until the middle of this century in some areas of England. Administratively they solved the problem of the poor in an efficient, systematic and inexpensive way.

In the field of prison reform the influence of Bentham is no less discernible. Throughout the nineteenth century, conditions in British prisons continued to improve, however slowly. The practice of transportation was discontinued. Young offenders and females were segretated from the old lags. Bribery of warders was banned. Increased attention was given to the physical needs of the prisoners in the way of a balanced diet. At the same time public attitudes towards offenders underwent something of a metamorphosis as the inconsistencies in the severity of the law were ironed out. These changes in attitudes are noticeable in the new emphasis on the reformation of the criminal rather than the severity of his punishment and in the idea that a prison sentence is primarily a deterrent to crime before it is committed not as a punishment after. Much of the credit for this must go to the Howard League for Penal Reform and the John Howard Society. However, many of the principles on which they acted had been suggested by Bentham in Panopticon, and many of their more influential members were Benthamites.

Though the Chrestomathic school was never put into operation on a large scale, many of the ideas on education which were put forward by Bentham have subsequently been adopted. Education has become progressively more "useful", if not truly utilitarian, as its traditional core has been replaced by subjects more easily justified on the basis of their practical application. A similar process has occurred with respect to teaching methods. The emphasis on rote learning has given way under the impact of an appreciation of the need for comprehension based on a sequential and systematic process of teaching geared directly to the age, maturity, and intellectual ability of the pupil. Gradually, corporal punishment has diminished if it has not yet entirely disappeared. No classroom is now complete without its collection of visual aids. The notion that education is much more than formal instruction and that it ought to be a systematic and life-long process is now generally accepted. Now all children receive an education that is deemed to be "suitable" for them, and the need to educate the body as well as instruct the mind is now thoroughly understood. It is not suggested that these changes have come about directly because of Bentham's influence, but neither can one ignore the all-pervasiveness of Benthamite thought in these areas.

In the area of informal education, the multiplicity of evening institutes teaching "useful" skills to the ignorant, the generally adequate provision of public library facilities and the introduction of labor exchanges, savings banks, public health clinics and dispensaries have greatly benefitted the poor. Certainly improved knowledge of contraceptive techniques has proved to be of great benefit to all adults in helping to avoid the misery attendant upon a too numerous and unwanted family. It is not suggested here, either, that all of this is due directly to Bentham, but the same inference is made that Benthamite thought had some influence on it. It is for these reasons that Bentham may be regarded as an important educator; for, as J.S. Mill wrote of both Betham and Coleridge,

> ...their readers have been few: but they have been the teachers of the teachers.[5]

If one turns to an assessment of Bentham's representative significance, however, the process of evaluation becomes somewhat easier since it is possible to view Bentham's work both in the light of his own evolving political, economic and social views and also to view him in the context of his own social class. In the former case it is possible to trace his gradual evolution towards an increasingly radical position when one sees that the

Fragment on Government (1776) was followed, if not directly, by An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation (1780), by Panopticon (1797), by Emancipate Your Colonies and The Manual of Political Economy (1793), by Pauper Management Improved (1797-1798), by the Elements of the Art of Packing (1809), by Church of Englandism and Swear Not at All (1812-1816), by the Plan of Parliamentary Reform and Radicalism Not Dangerous (1817-1820), and by On Liberty of the Press, the Analysis of Natural Religion, the Constitutional Code, Securities Against Misrule, and Not Paul But Jesus, in the last decade of his life. In the case of the latter Bentham may be viewed as being representative of a spectrum of middle class values with their emphasis on security, secure holding of property, firm moral values, a belief in the inevitability and the desirability of progress and improvement, and the social importance of the middle classes as consisting of people who, alone, had the inclination, knowledge, time and real ability to govern. He is, of course, also, the archetypal representative of utilitarianism and the extent to which it shared in those beliefs and values. In this sense Bentham was representative of the middle classes as articulating many of their concerns and beliefs about the poor. He was less representative, however, when he turned to proposing solutions; there he represented utilitarianism.

The major purpose in undertaking this study was to bring to the fore Jeremy Bentham's ideas on education, particularly as they applied to the lower orders. It was pointed out in the Introduction to this work that Bentham's reputation as an educational theorist had scarcely been lower than it is now. In certain essential respects, therefore, the study has been rehabilitative in nature. Not only does the reputation of Bentham the educator need to be established, but so does the reputation of Bentham the practical philosopher. That this should need to be done at all is at first sight surprising for many of the values which are so commonly held today (for example, the belief in property, in progress, in the ability of man to control his life situation, in free enterprise and personal initiative) were precisely those which Bentham himself emphasised, though perhaps ones acceptance of them is tinged with a slightly deeper hue of cynicism in the light of ones experience. Perhaps it is that note of cynicism which makes the rehabilitation necessary at all: for basically, despite the obvious similarities already referred to, the present is an age (after several episodes of near global destruction and successive economic recessions with the possibility of more to come) in which the cult of unlimited progress seems increasingly difficult to believe in. It is suggested that as a result of this, the contemporary perception of Bentham is a false one. Neither has the reputation of Bentham been at all well served by his biographers. Bowring had, undoubtedly, the best opportunity of all and yet his biography is dull. Neither have more recent scholars[6] fared appreciably better.

Perhaps the best place of all, therefore, to start the process of reinstatement is with Bentham's contemporaries.

The essayist William Hazlitt was one such contemporary; in fact, he lived next door to Bentham in Westminster. Bentham and Hazlitt, whilst they were neighbours, were certainly not friends. In his book The Spirit of the Age, Hazlitt devoted a whole section to his neighbour. It has a critical, though fair, perspective and one worthy of some attention. Hazlitt is particularly harsh in his criticism of Bentham's literary style. He complained that

> He writes a language of his own, that darkens knowledge. His works have been translated into French - they ought to be translated into English...It is a barbarous philosophical jargon, with all the repetitions, parentheses, formalities, uncouth nomenclatures and verbiage of law-Latin.[7]

This is a harsh but legitimate criticism, for Bentham's literary style did indeed deteriorate. Hazlitt was also critical of Bentham's preference for the man-made over the natural.[8] This may be explained by Bentham's predilection for "progress", and associated with progress is the human manufactured article to replace the natural.

A more seaching criticism is that Bentham had absolutely no proper knowledge of the world or what motivated men. It is a criticism that has been made many times over the years and one that must generally be admitted to be true. What Bentham knew was what men ought to be like, not what they were like. He lived many of his eighty-three years in a severely restricted social circle which necessarily limited his experience of mankind and its ways. His main concern was not with what men were but with what they ought to be.[9]

When contrasted with the positive side of Bentham's character and achievements, however, such blemishes diminish in proportion. His orderly mind and reforming zeal have lead to systematic change in a number of different fields.[10] In the areas of ethics and legal theory it is still necessary to begin with Bentham, for his rigorous analysis and careful distinction between what the law is and what it ought to be have reformed it, systematised it and made it at once more humane and more accessible. He hated generalities, and his attempts to produce a science of law failed not because of any defect in his position but because when he lived there existed no adequate concept of the amount of investigation that would be involved in erecting such a science. Bentham was at his best not as a philanthropist, a moralist, or a philosopher, though he was all of these, but as a radical reformer.

Bentham was always "the great questioner of things established"[11] in respect of the law, ethics, government, morality and education. He perceived in education (interpreted in a very wide way to include all the formative influences that bear upon one) a potent weapon with which to achieve these reforms. As far as formal schooling is concerned the influence of Benthamite thought on such matters as the monitorial system and the later payment by results, introduced by his disciple Robert Lowe, is self-evident. Nonetheless, whilst Bentham was compassionate and humane to a very high degree he did not have that obvious sympathy which is crucial to an understanding of children and their educational problems. Consequently, it is a simpler task to point to his impact on reforms in law and constitutional matters than it is to point to concrete educational reforms. In the latter case Bentham's major impact was in raising our perceptions of the potential of education as a reforming force in society.

Not only did Bentham question but he always presented comprehensive solutions to the problems he examined. Some of these may have come to appear quaint or even absurd over the course of the intervening two centuries, but in their essentials they remain unchallenged. J.S. Mill concluded that

> Though we may reject...his practical conclusions, yet his premises...remain for ever a part of the materials of philosophy. A place therefore must be assigned to Bentham among the masters of wisdom, the great teachers and permanent intellectual ornaments of the human race.[12]

Mill was, of course, close to Bentham for many years and was, therefore, in a unique position to observe and comment upon him. He was always a fervent admirer of the philosopher whilst being aware of his shortcomings, for example, Bentham's lack of perception of human nature about which Mill had some legitimate concerns on a personal basis. Neither did the intimate relationship prevent Mill from introducing some fundamental reforms to the utilitarian credo as it had been formulated by Bentham, most notably the qualitative dimension he gave to pleasures and pains.[13]

Not everybody, however, was complimentary. Hazlitt, Bentham's long time neighbour, wrote of him that

> He has been heard to say...that "he should like to live the remaining years of his life, a year at a time at the end of the next six or eight centuries, to see the effect which his writings would by that time have had upon the world." Alas! his name will hardly live so long! 14

It is suggested here that Bentham's name will be remembered because of his humanity, his practical ability, and his eternally questioning mind. Perhaps the testimony of his friend, J.H. Burton, who knew him well, is worthy of some attention at this point. He wrote:

> The predominant characteristics of Bentham's mind were: - sincerity, or love of truth; benevolence, or an ever active desire to contribute to the happiness of others; investigation, or a reckless craving which could only be satisfied by thoroughly examining whatever attracted his attention in all its bearings. If we add, that what phrenologists would call the faculties of order or classification, and of constructiveness, were in him peculiarly active, we have the key at once to the origin of his opinions, and their progressive development. Circumstances seem to have determined the field he selected for the exertion of those faculties; but it was the almost unparalleled power and energy of his mind that enabled him to cultivate that field to so much purpose.[15]

But it is for one's contemporaries and successors that one writes, not one's predecessors. To them one owes a different debt, that of honour. It is, therefore, fitting that a modern and occasionally hostile critic should have the last word of all:

> If others can be persuaded to take Bentham as seriously as he took himself, a great service will have been performed for the history of ideas.[16]

Footnotes to Chapter 7

1. For a more detailed discussion of this subject refer to the following: Carr, E.H., What is History? London: Pelican, 1964. Collingwood, The Idea of History. Oxford: O.U.P., 1956. Gardiner, P., The Nature of Historical Explanation. London: O.U.P., 1961. Marwick, A., The Nature of History. London: MacMillan, 1970.

2. Weber, M. Methodology of the Social Sciences. Glencoe, Ill: 1949.

3. Halevy, E. The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism. London: Faber and Faber, 1928, p. 508.

4. For a detailed examination of this field refer to Checkland, S.G. and E.O.A. Checkland, The Poor Law Report of 1834. London: Pelican, 1974.

5. Mill, J.S. Essay on Bentham and Coleridge. Ed. F.R. Leavis, New York, 1950, p. 39.

6. For example, Everett, C.W. Jeremy Bentham. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1966 and Mack, M.P. Jeremy Bentham, London: Heinemann, 1962.

7. Hazlitt, Wm. "The Spirit of the Age", in The Complete Works of Wm. Hazlitt, V, II, ed. P.P. Howe, London, 1932, p. 15.

8. Ibid., p. 16.

9. For a more detailed and contemporary criticism of Bentham, with particular reference to the Houses of Industry and the Panopticon schemes refer to the following: Himmelfarb, G. "Bentham's Utopia: The National Charity Company", The Journal of British Studies, X, I, 1970, pp. 80-125. Himmelfarb, G. "The Haunted House of Jeremy Bentham", in Victorian Minds, New York, Harper and Row, 1968. Bader, W.C. "Jeremy Bentham: Businessman or Philanthropist", Albion, VII, 1975, pp. 245-254.

10. Beales, H.L. "Jeremy Bentham: Social Engineer", The Listener, 3rd August, 1932.

11. Mill, J.S. "Bentham", Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Vol. X, Toronto: Toronto U.P., 1969, p. 78.

12. Mill, J.S. Essay on Bentham and Coleridge, p. 47.

13. For a more detailed assessment of Bentham's character and achievements, refer to Mill's Essay on Bentham. For a discussion of Mill's refinements to the Principle of Utility, refer to the Essay on Utilitarianism. Mill, J.S. Intro. A.D. Lindsay, London: Dent, 1910.

14. Hazlitt, Wm., op. cit., p. 7.

15. Burton, J.H. in the Works, ed. J. Bowring, I, General Preface, p. vii.

16. Himmelfarb, G. "On Reading Bentham Seriously", Studies in Burke and his Time, XIV, 2, no. 46, Winter 1972-73, p. 180.

Bibliography

of primary and secondary sources consulted in the preparation of this thesis. All sources are arranged in alphabetical order of author's name.

I. Archival Sources

D.M.S. Watson Library, University College, London.
The British Library.

II. Primary Sources - University College, London.

The mass of Bentham's manuscripts is deposited in the library of University College, London. The collection is located in 176 boxes, the contents of which have been catalogued. Details of the collection are to be found in:

Milne, A. Taylor. The Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Jeremy Bentham in the Library of University College. London: The Athlone Press, 1962.

III. Printed Editions of Bentham's Works

Bentham, J. The Works of Jeremy Bentham. J. Bowring (ed.). XI vols. London, 1843. Subsequently reprinted and published, New York: Russell and Russell, 1962.

Bentham, J. Correspondence, 2 vols. (1752-1780). Sprigge, T.L.S. (ed.). London: Athlone Press, 1968.

Bentham, J. Correspondence. (1781-1788), Vol. III. Christie, I., (ed.). London: Athlone Press, 1971.

Bentham, J. A Fragment on Government, F.C. Montague, (ed.). London: Oxford University Press, 1931.

Bentham, J. An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation. Burns, J.H. and H.L.A. Hart, (eds.). London: Athlone Press, 1970.

Bentham, J. Of Laws in General. H.L.A. Hart, (ed.). London: Athlone Press, 1970.

Bentham, J. Jeremy Bentham's Economic Writings. 3 vols. Stark, W. (ed.). London: Allen and Unwin, 1952.

Bentham, J. Bentham's Handbook of Political Fallacies. Larrabee, H.A. (ed.). New York: Apollo Edition, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1952.

Bentham, J. A Bentham Reader. Mack, M. (ed.). New York: Pegasus Books, 1969.

Bentham, J. Bentham's Theory of Fictions. Ogden, C.K. (ed.). London: R.K.P., 1951.

Bentham also contributed to *The Annals of Agriculture and Other Useful Arts*. Details of these contributions are as follows:

Young, Arthur (ed.). The Annals of Agriculture and Other Useful Arts. London: 1797: Vol. XXIX, Issue 167, 8th September, 1797, 393-426; Vol. XXX, Issues 169/170, 1798, 89-176; Vol. XXX, Issue 171, 1798, 241-296; Vol. XXX, Issue 172, 1798, 393-424; Vol. XXX, Issue 173, 1798, 457-504; Vol. XXXI, Issue 174, 1798, 33-64; Vol. XXXI, Issue 175, 1798, 169-200; Vol. XXXI, Issue 176, 1798, 273-288. This last contribution is followed by the words "To be continued" as are the previous articles, but no further contributions were published.

IV. Secondary Sources - Works on Bentham

Atkinson, C.M. *Jeremy Bentham: His Life and Work*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1970.

Baumgardt, D. *Bentham and the Ethics of Today*. Princeton: Yale University Press, 1952.

Burns, J.H. *Jeremy Bentham and University College*. Monograph. London: Athlone Press, 1962.

Cohen, V. *Jeremy Bentham*. Monograph. London: The Fabian Society, Tract 221, 1927.

Everett, C.W. *The Education of Jeremy Bentham*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931.

Everett, C.W. *Jeremy Bentham*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1966.

Himmelfarb, G. "The Haunted House of Jeremy Bentham," in *Victorian Minds*, New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

Keeton, G.W., and G. Schwarzenberger, (eds.). *Jeremy Bentham and the Law, a Symposium*. London: Stevens and Sons, Ltd., 1948.

Long, D.G. *Bentham on Liberty*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.

MacCunn, J. *Six Radical Thinkers*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1964.

Mack, M. *Jeremy Bentham: An Odyssey of Ideas*. London: Heinemann, 1962.

Manning, D.J. The Mind of Jeremy Bentham. London: Longmans, 1968.

Milne, A.J.M. "Coleridge and Bentham as Political Thinkers", Unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of London, 1952.

Parekh, B. Bentham's Political Thought. London: Croom Helm, 1973.

Parekh, B. (ed.). Jeremy Bentham: Ten Critical Essays. London: Russell, 1974.

Phillipson, C. Three Criminal Law Reformers. Montclair, N.J.: P. Smith, 1970.

Preyer, R.O. Bentham, Coleridge and the Science of History. Bochum-Langendreer: Heinrich Poppinghaus, 1958.

Rawls, J. A Theory of Justice. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Robbins, Lord J. Bentham in the Twentieth Century. London: The Athlone Press, 1965.

Secondary Sources: The Historical Context

Anstruther, I. The Scandal of the Andover Workhouse. London: Bles, 1973.

Armytage, W.H.G. Four Hundred Years of English Education. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Aspinall, A. Politics and the Press, c1780-1850. Brighton: Harvester Press, 1973.

Bacon, Sir Francis. The Advancement of Learning. (1605), London: Athlone Press, 1975.

Bagley, J.J., and A.J. Bagley. The English Poor Laws. London: Penguin, 1966.

Beccaria, C. Dei delitti e delle pene. (1764). London: F. Newbery, 1769.

Bellott, H.H. University College, London, 1827-1926. London: University of London Press, 1929.

Blackstone, Sir Wm. Commentaries on the Laws of England. 4 Vols. with notes by J. Chitty. London: W. Walker, 1826.

Bloomfield, P. *Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Builder of the British Commonwealth*. London: Longmans, 1961.

Bonar, J. *Malthus and his Work*. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1966.

Bovill, E.W. *English Country Life, 1780-1830*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.

Brett-Smith, H.F.B., and C.E. Jones. *The Works of Thomas Love Peacock*, Vol. IV, Crotchett Castle. New York: A.M.S. Press, 1967.

Briggs, A. *Essays in Labour History*. London: Macmillan, 1967.

Briggs, A. *Victorian People*. London: Pelican, 1954.

Brougham and Vaux, Lord Henry. *The Life and Times of Henry, Lord Brougham, Written by Himself*. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1871.

Burston, W.H. *James Mill on Education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Burston, W.H. *James Mill on Philosophy and Education*. London: The Athlone Press, 1973.

Checkland, S.G., and E.O.A. Checkland. *The Poor Law Report of 1834*. London: Pelican, 1974.

Checkland, S.G. *The Rise of Industrial Society in England, 1815-1885*. London: Longman, 1964.

Clive, J. *Scotch Reviewers: The Edinburgh Review, 1802-1815*. Cambridge, (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1957.

Cole, G.D.H., and R. Postgate. *The Common People, 1746-1946*. London: Methuen, 1961.

Cole, M. *Robert Owen of New Lanark*. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1953.

Conway, M.D. *The Life of Thomas Paine*. London: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1892.

Coveney, P. *The Image of Childhood*. London: Pelican, 1967.

Darvall, F.O. *Popular Disturbances and Public Order in Regency England*. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969.

Dickens, C. Hard Times. Ford, G. and S. Monod (eds.), New York, 1966.

Dunbabin, J.P.D. Rural Discontent in Nineteenth Century Britain. London: Faber and Faber, 1974.

Eden, Sir F.M. The State of the Poor. (1797). London: Cass, 1966.

Finer, S.E. The Life and Times of Edwin Chadwick. London: Methuen, 1952.

Finer, S.E. "The Transmission of Benthamite Ideas, 1820-1850," in Studies in the Growth of 19th Century Government. G. Sutherland, (ed.). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.

Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmund. The Life of William, Earl of Shelburne. London: Macmillan and Company, 1912.

Gay, John. A Dissertation Concerning the Principle and Criterion of Virtue and the Origin of the Passions. (1730). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Graham, W. English Literary Periodicals. New York: Octagon Books, 1966.

Grobel, M.C. "The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 1826-1847, and its relationship to Adult Education in the first half of the Nineteenth Century." Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of London, 1932.

Grylls, R.G. William Godwin and His World. London: Odhams Press, 1953.

Halevy, E. A History of the English People in 1815. London: Oxford University Press, 1924.

Hammond, J.L., and B. Hammond. The Rise of Modern Industry. London: Methuen, 1951.

Hammond, J.L. and B. Hammond. The Skilled Labourer, 1760-1832. London: Longmans Press, 1919.

Hammond, J.L. and B. Hammond. The Town Labourer, 1760-1832. London: Longmans Press, 1920.

Hammond, J.L. and B. Hammond. The Village Labourer, 1760-1832. London: Longmans Press, 1948.

Hans, N. "The Historical Evolution of Inter-Nationalism; the Nineteenth Century; Utilitarianism, Positivism and Socialism," in The Year Book of Education. New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1964, 21-32.

Harrison, J.F.C. The Early Victorians, 1832-1851. London: Panther Books, 1973.

Harrison, J.F.C. Learning and Living, 1790-1960. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1961.

Hartley, David. Observations on Man, His Frame, His Duty and His Expectations. (1749). T.L. Huguelet, (ed.), Gainesville, Florida: Scholars Facsimiles and Reprints, 1966.

Hazlitt, Wm. The Spirit of the Age, in The Works of William Hazlitt, XI, P.P. Howe, (ed.), London: Dent, 1932.

Helvetius, C.A. De l'Esprit. (1758). New York: B. Franklin, 1970.

Hey, C.G. "The History of Hazelwood School, Birmingham, and its Influence on Educational Developments in the Nineteenth Century." Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, The University of Wales, 1954.

Hill, C. Reformation to Industrial Revolution. London: Pelican Books, 1969.

Hollis, P. (ed.). Class and Conflict in Nineteenth Century England, 1815-1850. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.

Horner, F. Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Horner, M.P. L. Horner (ed.), London, 1843. Reprinted, Boston: Little and Brown, 1853.

Hume, David. Treatise on Human Nature. (1738). 3 vols. L.A. Selby-Bigge, (ed.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1888.

Hurt, J. Education in Evolution. London: Paladin Books, 1971.

Hutcheson, Francis. An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections. (1728). New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1971.

Inglis, B. Poverty and the Industrial Revolution. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1971.

Judges, A.V. Pioneers of English Education. London: Faber and Faber, 1952.

Kayser, E.L. The Grand Social Enterprise. New York: A.M.C. Press, 1967.

Knaplund, P. "Colonial Problems and Colonial Policy, 1815-1837," in The Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. II, Chapter 8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926.

Lawson, J., and H. Silver. A Social History of Education in England. London: Methuen, 1973.

Locke, John. An Essay Concerning Human Understanding. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Logan, D.W. The University of London: An Introduction. London: The Athlone Press, 1956.

Longmate, N. The Workhouse. New York: The St. Martin's Press, 1974.

Lyons, D. In the Interest of the Governed. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973.

Lytton-Bulwer, Edward. England and the English. S. Meacham, (ed.). Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1970.

Maccoby, S. The English Radical Tradition, 1763-1914. London: Kaye, 1952.

Maclure, J.S. Educational Documents: England and Wales, 1816-1968. London: Chapman and Hall, 1968.

Malthus, T. An Essay on the Principle of Population. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1976.

Malthus, T. "An Investigation of the Cause of the Present High Price of Provisions," in The Pamphlets of Thomas Robert Malthus, New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1970.

Marshall, D. The English Poor in the Eighteenth Century. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969.

Marshall, D. Industrial England, 1776-1851. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.

Marshall, J.D. The Old Poor Law 1795-1834. London: Macmillan and Company, 1968.

Meszaros, P. (ed.). Aspects of History and Class Consciousness. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971.

Mill, J. A History of British India. W. Thomas, (Intro.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975.

Mills, R.C. The Colonization of Australia. London: Dawson, 1968.

Mingay, G.E. English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.

Mitchell, A. The Whigs in Opposition, 1815-1830. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Muir, R. A Short History of the British Commonwealth. London: George Philip and Son, 1923.

Neale, R.S. Class and Ideology in the Nineteenth Century. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.

Nesbitt, G.L. (ed.). Benthamite Reviewing: The First Twelve Years of the Westminster Review. New York: A.M.S. Press, 1966.

Nicholls, Sir G. A History of the English Poor Law. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967.

Norman, J. Edward Gibbon Wakefield: A Political Re-Appraisal. Fairfield, Conn.: New Frontiers of Fairfield University, 1963.

Osborne, J. John Cartwright. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Owen, R. The Life of Robert Owen, by Himself. M. Beer, (Intro.). London: G. Bell, 1920.

Owen, R. A New View of Society. London: Pelican Books, 1972.

Oxley, G.W. Poor Relief in England and Wales, 1601-1834. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1973.

Parkin, F. Class Inequality and Political Order: Social Stratification in Capitalist and Communist Societies. London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1971.

Perkin, H. The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969.

Pinchbeck, I., and M. Hewitt. *Children in English Society*. 2 vols. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.

Pike, E.R. *Human Documents of the Industrial Revolution in Britain*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1966.

Place, F. *The Autobiography of Francis Place*. Mary Thale, (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Plumb, J.H. *England in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Pelican Books, 1950.

Polanyi, K. *The Great Transformation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957.

Pollock, F. *An Introduction to the History of Science and Politics*. London: Macmillan, 1943.

Poynter, J. *Society and Pauperism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969.

Priestley, Joseph. *Essay on Government*, (1768). J. Passmore, (ed.). New York: Collier Books, 1965.

Rae, J. *The Life of Adam Smith*. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1965.

Read, D. *Press and People, 1790-1850*. London: E. Arnold, 1961.

Redford, A. *Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850*. Manchester University Press, 1964.

Ricardo, David. *The High Price of Bullion*, in *Works and Correspondence*. Piero Sraffa, (ed.), with M.H. Dobb, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953-1973.

Roberts, D. *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State*. Hamden (Conn.): Archon Books, 1969.

Roberts, M. *The Whig Party, 1807-1812*. London: Cass, 1965.

Roebuck, J.A. *The Colonies of England*. London: John W. Parker, 1849.

Rose, M.E. *The English Poor Law, 1780-1930*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971.

Rose, M.E. *The Relief of Poverty, 1834-1914*. London: Macmillan, 1972.

Schofield, R.S. The Lunar Society of Birmingham. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963.

Schuyler, R.L. The Fall of the Old Colonial System. New York: Oxford University Press, 1945.

Shaw, A.G.L. (ed.). Great Britain and the Colonies, 1815-1865. London: Methuen, 1970.

Simon, B. Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1960.

Silver, H. The Concept of Popular Education. London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1965.

Smith, N.J. Poverty in England, 1601-1936. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972.

Stewart, W.A.C. The Educational Innovators, 1750-1880. London: Macmillan, 1967.

Stewart, W.A.C. Progressives and Radicals in English Education, 1750-1970. London: Macmillan, 1972.

Stokes, E. The English Utilitarians and India. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959.

Tawney, R.H. Religion and the Rise of Capitalism; a Historical Study. London: Murray, 1936.

Taylor, G. The Problem of Poverty, 1660-1834. London: Longmans, 1969.

Thompson, E.P. The Making of the English Working Class. New York: Vintage Books, 1963.

Thompson, F.M.L. English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.

Thompson, D. England in the Nineteenth Century. London: Pelican Books, 1950.

Vaughan, M., and M.S. Archer. Social Conflict and Educational Change in England and France, 1789-1848. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

Wakefield, Edward Gibbon. England and America. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967.

Wakefield, Edward Gibbon. A View of the Art of Colonization in present reference to the British Empire. (1849). New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969.

Wallas, G. The Life of Francis Place. New York: Knopf, 1919.

Wardle, D. English Popular Education, 1780-1970. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Webb, R.K. The British Working Class Reader, 1790-1848. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1971.

Webb, R.K. Modern England from the Eighteenth Century to the Present. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1968.

White, R.J. Waterloo to Peterloo. London: Peregrine Books, 1968.

Winch, D. Classical Political Economy and the Colonies. London: G. Bell, 1965.

Woodroofe, K. From Charity to Social Work in England and the United States. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1971.

Woodward, E.L. The Age of Reform. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1938.

Wrigley, C.J. The Working Classes. 2 vols. London: Greg, 1973.

Wrong, E.N. Charles Buller and Responsible Government. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1926.

Young, G.M. Portrait of an Age. London: Oxford University Press, 1953.

Secondary Sources: Works on Utilitarianism

Albee, E. A History of English Utilitarianism. London: Allen and Unwin, 1901.

Ayer, A.J. Philosophical Essays. London: Macmillan, 1954.

Copplestone, F. A History of Philosophy. Vol. VIII, Modern Philosophy: Bentham to Russell: Part One. New York: Doubleday, 1967.

Davidson, W.L. Political Thought in England: The Utilitarians, Bentham-Mill. London: Williams and Norgate, 1915.

Dicey, A.V. Lectures on the Relation Between Law and Public Opinion in England During the Nineteenth Century. London: Macmillan, 1962.

Halevy, E. The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism. London: Faber and Faber, 1928.

Letwin, S.R. The Pursuit of Certainty: Hume, Bentham, J.S. Mill, Beatrice Webb. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.

Mackintosh, Sir J. A Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy. Edinburgh: Black, 1836.

Mill, J. Essays on Government, Jurisprudence, Liberty of the Press, and the Law of Nations. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967.

Mill, J.S. Autobiography, K. Brittan, (ed.). London: Penguin Books, 1953.

Mill, J.S. Essays on Bentham and Coleridge. F.R. Leavis, (Intro.). New York: Harper and Row, 1960.

Mill, J.S. Essays on Utilitarianism, On Liberty, On Representative Government. A.D. Lindsay, (Intro.). London: Everyman Books, 1968.

Plamenatz, J. The English Utilitarians. Oxford: Blackwell, 1966.

Pringle-Pattison, A. Seth. The Philosophical Radicals. London: Dent, 1907.

Quinton, A. Utilitarian Ethics. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973.

Russell, Bertrand. Freedom Versus Organization. New York: Norton, 1934.

Russell, Bertrand. The History of Western Philosophy. London: Unwin, 1946.

Stephen, Sir L. The English Utilitarians. 3 vols. London: Duckworth and Company, 1900.

Stephen, Sir L. A History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1876.

Thomas, W.E.S. "The Philosophical Radicals," in Pressure From Without in Early Victorian England. P. Hollis, (ed.). London: E. Arnold, 1974.

Secondary Sources: Articles

Aspinall, A. "Lord Brougham's Life and Times," *English Historical Revue*, LXI, 1944, 87-112.

Bader, W.C. (Jnr.). "Jeremy Bentham: Businessman or Philanthropist?", *Albion*, VII, 1975, 245-254.

Beales, H.L. "Jeremy Bentham: Social Engineer", *The Listener*, 3rd August, 1932, 148-150.

Beales, H.L. "The New Poor Law", *History*, XV, New Series, 1930-1931, 308-309.

Best, G.F.A. "The Making of the English Working Class," *The Historical Journal*, VIII, 1965, 271-281.

Blaug, M. "The Myth of the Old Poor Law and the Making of the New," *Journal of Economic History*, XXIII, No. 2, 1963, 151-178.

Blaug, M. "The Poor Law Report Re-Examined," *Journal of Economic History*, XXIV, No. 2, 1964, 229-246.

Brebner, J.B. "Laissez-faire and State Intervention in Nineteenth Century Britain," *The Journal of Economic History*, Supplement, VIII, 1948, 65-70.

Briggs, A. "Middle Class Consciousness in English Politics, 1786-1846," *Past and Present*, IX, 1956, 65-74.

Burns, J.H. "Bentham and the French Revolution," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Series 5, XVI, 1966, 95-114.

Campbell, E. "Prerogative Rule in New South Wales, 1788-1823," *The Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, M, (August, 1964), 161-191.

Cantor, N.F., and M.S. Werthman, "Benthamite Doctrine and the Victorian State," *The English Tradition*, II, Toronto: Macmillan, 1967.

Carr, W.R. "James Mill's Politics Reconsidered," *The Historical Journal*, XIV, 1971, 553-580.

Coates, A.W. "Economic Thought and Poor Law Policy in the Eighteenth Century," *The Economic History Review*, XIII, Series 2, 1960, 39-51.

Coates, W.H. "Benthamism, Laissez-faire and Collectivism," The Journal of the History of Ideas, XI, 1950, 357-363.

Currie, R., and R.M. Hartwell. "The Making of the English Working Class?," The Economic History Review, Series 2, XVIII, 1965, 633-643.

Dillon, J.F. "Bentham's Influence on the Reforms of the Nineteenth Century," Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History, I, 1907, 492-515.

Dinwiddy, J.R. "Bentham's Transition to Political Radicalism, 1809-1810," The Journal of the History of Ideas, XXXVI, I, 1975, 683-700.

Flinn, M.W. "The Poor Employment Act of 1817," The Economic History Review, Series 2, XIV, 1961, 82-92.

Fossati, L. "Cesare Beccaria e Geremia Bentham," Rivista di Filosofia, Geneva: Anno 8, 1916, 522-546.

Fraser, P. "Public Petitioning and Parliament Before 1832," History, XLIV , 1961, 195-211.

Galbraith, J.S. "Myths of the Little England Era," The American Historical Review, LXVII, 1961, 34-48.

Gallagher, J., and R. Robinson. "The Imperialism of Free Trade," The Economic History Review, Series 2, VI, I, 1953, 1-15.

Greaves, H.R.G. "Bentham on Legislative Procedure," Economica, XI, 1931, 308-327.

Gunn, J.A.W. "Jeremy Bentham and the Public Interest," The Canadian Journal of Political Science, I, (December) 1968, 398-413.

Hamburger, J. "James Mill on Universal Suffrage and the Middle Class," The Journal of Politics, XXIV, I, 1962, 167-190.

Hart, J. "Nineteenth Century Social Reform: A Tory Interpretation of History," Past and Present, XXXI, 1965, 39-61.

Hart, H.L.A. "Bentham." The Proceedings of the British Academy, XLVIII, 1962, 298-320.

Hart, H.L.A. "Bentham and the Demystification of the Law," The Modern Law Review, XXXVI, I, (January) 1973, 2-17.

Henriques, U.R. "Bastardy and the New Poor Law," Past and Present, XXXVII, 1967, 103-129.

Himes, N.E. "Jeremy Bentham and the Genesis of English Neo-Malthusianism," The Economic Journal, (Supplement), III, 1934-1937, 267-276.

Himmelfarb, G. "Bentham's Utopia: The National Charity Company," The Journal of British Studies, X, I, 1970, 80-125.

Hume, L.J. "Bentham's Panopticon: An Administrative History," Part One, Historical Studies, XV, 61 (October) 1973, 703-721; and Part Two, Historical Studies, XVI, 62, (April) 1974, 36-54.

Hume, L.J. "Jeremy Bentham and the Nineteenth Century Revolution in Government," The Historical Journal, X, 4, 1967, 361-375.

Hutchison, T.W. "Bentham as an Economist," The Economic Journal, LXVI, (June) 1956, 285-306.

Huzel, J.P. "Malthus, The Poor Law and Population," The Economic History Review, Series 2, XXII, 3, (December) 1969, 430-452.

James, M.H. (ed.). "Bentham and Legal Theory," The Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly, XXIV, 3, 1973, 18-32.

Kort, F. "The Issue of a Science of Politics in Utilitarian Thought," The American Political Science Review, XLVI, 1952, 1140-1152.

Lomer, G.R. "Jeremy Bentham," Queens Quarterly, LXVII, (Spring) 1960, 28-40.

Lundin, H.G. "The Influence of Jeremy Bentham on English Democratic Development," The University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences, VII, 3, 1920, 62-85.

MacCunn, J. "Bentham and His Philosophy of Reform," The Proceedings of the Liverpool Philomathic Society, XLVII, 1902, 41-66.

MacDonagh, O. "The Nineteenth Century Revolution in Government: A Re-Appraisal," *The Historical Journal*, I, I, 1958, 52-67.

MacNiven, C.D. "Utilitarianism Old and New," *Queens Quarterly*, LXXIV, (Summer) 1967, 330-342.

Marcham, A.J. "The 'Myth' of Benthamism, The Second Reform Act and the Extension of Popular Education," *The Journal of Educational Administration and History*, II, 2, (June) 1970, 29-29.

Miller, P.J. "Factories, Monitorial Schools and Jeremy Bentham; the Origins of the Management Syndrome in Popular Education," *The Journal of Educational Administration and History*, V, 2, (July) 1973, 10-19.

Mitchell, A.A. "Bentham and His School," *The Juridical Review*, XXXV, 1923, 248-284.

Mitchell, W.C. "Bentham's Felicific Calculus," *The Political Science Quarterly*, XXXIII, 1918, 161-183.

Mundle, C.W.K. "Jeremy Bentham and the Law," *Mind*, LVIII, 229, 1959, 119-121.

Musgrove, F. "Middle Class Education and Employment, a Rejoinder," *The Economic History Review*, XIV, Series 2, 1961, 320-335.

Palmer, P.A. "Benthamism in England and America," *The American Political Science Review*, XXXV, 5, 1941, 855-871.

Parris, H. "The Nineteenth Century Revolution in Government: A Re-Appraisal Re-Appraised," *The Historical Journal*, III, I, 1960, 17-37.

Patterson, A.T. "Luddism, Hampden Clubs and Trade Unions in Leicestershire, 1816-1817," *The English Historical Review*, LXIII, 1948, 170-188.

Peardon, T.P. "Bentham's Ideal Republic," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XVIII, 1951, 120-144.

Post, J.B. "The Economic Crisis of 1816-1817 and its Social and Political Consequences," Summary of doctoral thesis, *The Journal of Economic History*, XXX, I, 1970, 248-250.

Pratt, R.C. "The Benthamite Theory of Democracy," The Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Science, XXI, 1955, 20-29.

Roberts, D. "Jeremy Bentham and the Victorian Administrative State," Victorian Studies, II, 1959, 193-210.

Roberts, W. "Bentham's Conception of Political Change: A Liberal Approach," Political Studies, IX, 2, (October) 1961, 254-274.

Rowe, D.J. "Class and Political Radicalism in London, 1831-1832," The Historical Journal, XIII, I, 1970, 31-47.

Semmell, B. "The Philosophical Radicals and Colonialism," The Journal of Economic History, XXI, 1961, 513-525.

Shaw, A.G.L. "British Attitudes to the Colonies, c1820-1850," The Journal of British Studies, IX, 1963, 70-95.

Sidgwick, H. "Bentham and Benthamism in Politics and Ethics," The Fortnightly Review, New Series, XXI, 1892, 627-652.

Smart, J.J.C. "Extreme and Restricted Utilitarianism," The Philosophical Quarterly, VI, 1956, 344-354.

Taylor, A.J. "Progress and Poverty in Britain, 1780-1850; A Re-appraisal," History, New Series, XLV, 1960, 16-31.

Thomas, W.E.S. "Francis Place and Working Class History," The Historical Journal, V, I, 1962, 61-70.

Towers, C.M.D. "John Stuart Mill and the London and Westminster Review," The Atlantic Monthly, LXIX, (January) 1892, 88-121.

Viner, J. "Bentham and John Stuart Mill: The Utilitarian Background," The American Economic Review, XXXIX, 1949, 360-382.

Wallas, G. "Jeremy Bentham," The Political Science Quarterly, XXXVIII, I, 1923, 45-56.

West, E.G. "The Role of Education in Nineteenth Century Doctrines of Political Economy," The British Journal of Educational Studies, XII, 2, (May) 1964, 161-172.

Williamson, C. "Bentham Looks at America," The Political Science Quarterly, LXX, 1955, 547-558.

Williford, M. "Bentham on the Rights of Women," The Journal of the History of Ideas, XXXVI, I, (January-March) 1975, 167-176.

Wilson, C. "The Other Face of Mercantilism," The Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Series 5, IX, 1959, 167-176.

Appendices

referred to in the text.

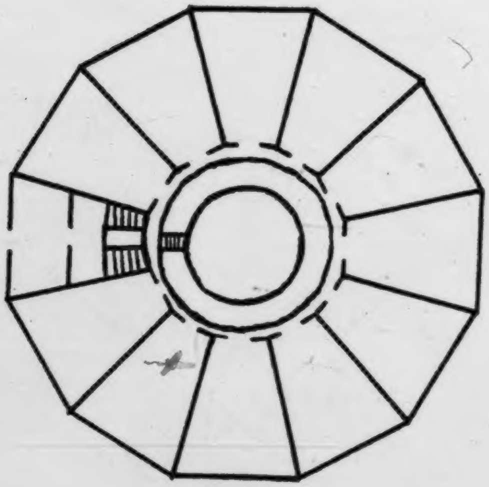
Appendix A

An

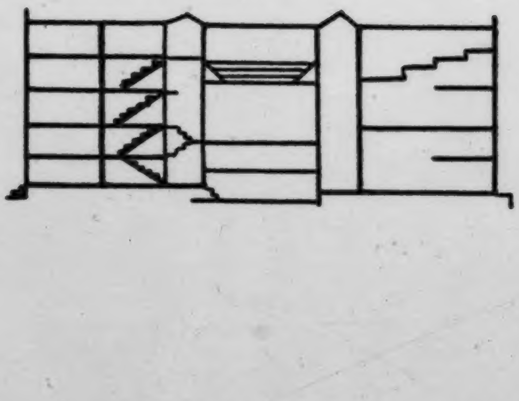
Industry House Establishment

for

2000 persons of all ages



Ground Plan



Section

Appendix B

UCL 151
290

In view of the importance of this class it is not surprising that Bentham gave some thought to devising ways to increase the numbers of such people in the Houses. I give these, in full, below:

Measures for augmenting the stock of apprentices.

1 Admitting pregnant women, indigent or not indigent upon the terms of consigning the infant to the Company.

All parties would find advantage in this arrangement

1 The infant in respect of the superior chance in life.

2 The Parish in respect of the superior chance of seeing the infant preserved alive.

3 The Mothers in particular in respect to the certainty of superior care at the time of delivery and during the period of convalescence.

4 The Father by being rid of the burthen and anxiety during that critical and alarming period.

5 The Company in respect of its acquisition in point of property by the amount of the value of the child's labour for the apprenticeship term.

6 The State in respect of the addition to its wealth and population proportional to the superior chance in favor of life.

2 No relief to any Pauper having more children than two within the age of perfect self-maintenance, but on condition of consigning one of them to the Company in quality of Apprentice.

3 To persons having but one or two children within the age in question and choosing rather to obtain temporary relief at home than betake themselves to the House of Industry ... money to be advanced on condition of their pledging a child for the repayment of it with or without interest in the course of a period to be agreed upon.

Appendix C

At this point Bentham begins a lengthy note designed to show how much better off the Company's apprentices were than were their fellows outside, not excluding those at public schools. One should remember that Bentham's own experiences at Westminster School had been anything but happy. He writes

> ". . . even those at schools which bear the name of public schools, are known . . . to inclose an enormous and never ceasing mass of unobserved and undivulged oppression: one of the first lessons practised in those seminaries being that of enduring tyranny - one of the last, that of inflicting it: - both together conspiring to instil into the susceptible mind an insensibility and indifference to justice."

The Annals of Agriculture, Vol 31, p 274.

Appendix D

In a Note on this (Annals, Vol. 31, pp. 279-282), Bentham explained that the maximum of happiness was clearly the object to be aimed at, and the longer the duration of a source of enjoyment, clearly the greater the sum of enjoyment. Therefore, it was better to marry early. In the case of the apprentices financial difficulties were removed and the only other inconveniences which needed to be considered, therefore, would be: (a) physical, i.e., "the danger to health and strength from a too early indulgence; (b) moral - that they might undertake such a responsibility before they were mentally fit to do so. Bentham proposed to use the apprentice stock as subjects for experiments to determine the best age for marriabe, viz

> ". . . to take the visible commencement of physical maturity in each individual for the standard and basis of experiment: from this starting post to mark out periods of delay - three months - six months - nine months - and so on, for a small - it surely need not be a large - number of years - twenty-one in the male might be the utmost. From thence forward observe the condition of the classes - see whether there be any and what perceptible differences in point of health and strength, as between class and class."

(Annals, Vol. 31, pp. 281-2)

and concluded in the following manner:

> "Fiat lux were the words of the Almighty. Fiat Experimentum were the words of the brightest genius he ever made. O chemists - much have your crucibles shown us of dead matter; but our industry house is a crucible for men!"

(Annals, Vol. 31, p. 282)

Appendix E

PROPOSAL
for
A New and Less Expensive Mode
of
Employing and Reforming Convicts

The Author, having turned his thoughts to the Penitentiary System from its first origin, and having lately contrived a Building in which any number of persons may be kept within the reach of being inspected during every moment of their lives, and having made out, as he flatters himself, to demonstration, that the only eligible mode of managing an Establishment of such a nature, in a Building of such a construction, would be by Contract, has been induced to make public the following Proposal for Maintenance and Employing Convicts in general, or such of them as would otherwise be confined on board the Hulks, for 25 per cent less than it costs Government to maintain them there at present deducting also the average value of the work at present performed by them for the public : upon the terms of his receiving the produce of their labour, taking on himself the whole expence of building without any advance to be made by Government for that purpose, requiring only that the abatement and deduction above mentioned shall be suspended for the first year.

Upon the above-mentioned Terms, he would engage as follows:

I To furnish the Prisoners with a constant supply of wholesome Food, not limited in quantity, but adequate to each man's desires.

II To keep them clad in a state of tightness and neatness, superior to what is usual in the improved prisons.

III To keep them supplied with separate Beds and Bedding, competent to their situations, and in a state of cleanliness scarcely any where conjoined with liberty.

IV To insure to them a sufficient supply of artificial warmth and light, whenever the season renders it necessary and thereby preserve them from being obliged, as in other places, to desist from their work as well as from suffering by the inclemency of the weather.

V To keep constantly from them, in conformity to the practice so happily received, every kind of strong and spirituous liquor; unless where ordered in the way of medicine.

VI To maintain them in a state of inviolable, though mitigated seclusion in afforted companies, without any of those opportunities of promiscuous association, which, in other disturb, if not destroy, whatever good effect can have been expected from solitude.

VII To give them an interest in their work by allowing them a share in the produce.

VIII To convert the prison into a school, and, by an extended application of the principle of the Sunday Schools, to return its inhabitants into the world instructed at least as well as in ordinary schools, in the common and most useful branches of vulgar learning, as well as in some trade or occupation, whereby they may afterwards earn their livelihood. Extraordinary culture of extraordinary talents is not, in this point of view, worth mentioning: it would be for his own advantage to give them every instruction, by which the value of their labour may be increased.

IX To pay a penal sum for every escape, with or without any default of his, irresistible violence from without excepted; and this without employing irons on any occasion, or in any shape.

X To provide them with spiritual and medical Assistants, constantly living in the midst of them, and incessantly keeping them in view.

XI To pay a sum of money for every one who dies under his care, taking thereby upon him the insurance of their lives for an ordinary premium, and that at a rate grounded on an average of the number of deaths, not among imprisoned Felons, but among persons of the same ages in a state of liberty within the Bills of Mortality.

XII To lay for them the Foundation Stone of a provision for old age, upon the plan of the Annuity Societies.

XIII To insure to them a livelihood, at the expiration of their terms, by setting up a Subsidiary Establishment into which all such as thought proper, should be admitted, and in which they would be continued in the exercise of the trades in which they were employed during their confinement, without any further expence to Government.

XIV To make himself personally responsible for the reformatory efficacy of his management, and even make amends, in most instances, for any accident of its failure, by paying a sum of money for every Prisoner convicted of a Felony after his discharge, at a rate, increasing according to the number of years he had been under the Proposer's care, viz a sum not exceeding 10/. If the Prisoner had been in the Penitentiary Panopticon one year not exceeding 15/. if two years; not exceeding 20/. if three years; not exceeding 25/. if four years; not exceeding 30/. if five years or upwards, such sum to be paid immediately on conviction, and to be applied to the indemnification of the persons injured by such subsequent offence, and to be equal in amount to the value of the injury, so long as it did not exceed the sums respectively above specified.

XV To present to the Court of King's Bench, on a certain day of every Term, and afterwards print and publish, at his own expence, a Report, exhibiting, in detail, the state, not only moral and medical, but economical, of the Establishment; shewing the whole profits, if any, and in what manner they arise; and then and there, as well as on any other day, upon summons from the Court, to make answer to all such questions as shall be put to him in relation thereto, not only on the part of the Court or Officer of the Crown, but, by leave of the Court on the part of any person whatsoever; questions, the answer to which might tend to subject him to conviction, though it were for a capital crime, not excepted; treading under foot a maxim invented by the guilty for the benefit of the guilty; and from which none but the guilty ever derived any advantage.

XVI By neatness and cleanliness, by diversity of employment, by variety of contrivance, and above all, by that peculiarity of construction, which, without any unpleasant or hazardous vicinity, enables the whole Establishment to be inspected at a view, from

> a commodious and insulated room in the centre, the Prisoners remaining unconscious of their being thus observed, it should be his study to render it a spectacle such as persons of all classes would, in the way of amusement, be curious to partake of, and that, not only on Sundays, at the time of Divine Service, but on ordinary days, at meal-times, or times of work providing thereby a system of superintendence, universal, unchargeable, and uninterrupted, the most effectual and indestructible of all securities against abuse.

Such are the methods that have occurred to him for accomplishing that identification of interest with duty, the effectuating of which, in the person of the Governor, is declared to be one of the leading objects of the Penitentiary Act.

The station of Jailor is not in common account a very elevated one; the addition of Contractor has not much tendency to raise it. He little dreamt, when he first launched into the subject, that he was to become a suitor, and perhaps in vain, for such an office. But inventions unpracticed might be in want of the inventor and a situation, thus clipped of emoluments, while it was loaded with obligations, might be in want of candidates. Penetrated, therefore, with the importance of the end, he would not suffer himself to see any thing unpleasant or discreditable in the means.

Outline of the Plan of Construction Alluded To In the Above Proposal

The Building circular - An Iron Cage, glazed - a Glass Lantern, about the size of Ranelagh - the Prisoners, in their Cells, occupying the Circumference - the Officers, (Governor, Chaplain, Surgeon, &c.) the Center.

By Blinds, and other contrivances, the Inspectors concealed (except in as far as they think fit to show themselves) from the observation of the Prisoners, hence the sentiment of a fort of invisible omnipresence. - The whole circuit reviewable with little, or, if necessary, without any, change of place.

One Station in the Inspection - Part affording the most perfect view of every Cell, and every part of every Cell, unless where a screen is thought fit occasionally and purposely to be interposed.

The same Cell serving in most instances for all purposes: Wash, Sleep, Meals, Punishment, Devotion. The unexampled shrines of construction conciliating this economy with the most scrupulous regard to health. For Visitors, at the time of Divine service, an Annular Gallery, closed to view, by the descent of a central Dome, the superior surface of which serves, after descent, for the reception of Ministers, Clerk, and a select part of the Auditory: the Prisoners all round, brought forward, within perfect view and hearing of the Ministers, to the front of their respective Cells.

Solitude, or limited Seclusion, ad libitum - But, unless for punishment, limited seclusion in assorted companies is preferred: An arrangement, upon this plan alone, exempt from danger. The degree of Seclusion fixed upon may be preserved, in all places, and at all times, inviolate. Hitherto, where solitude has been aimed at, some of its chief purposes have been frustrated by occasional associations.

The Approach, one only - Gates open into a walled avenue cut through the area. Hence, no strangers near the building without leave, nor without being surveyed from it as they pass, nor without being known to come on purpose. The gates, of open work, to expose hostile mobs: On the other side of the road, a wall with a branch of the road behind, to shelter peaceable passengers from the fire of the building. A mode of fortification like this, if practicable in a city, would have saved the London Prisons, and prevented the unpopular accidents in St. George's Fields.

The surrounding Wall, itself surrounded by an open palisade, which serves as a fence to the grounds on the other side - Exception the side of the Approach no public path by that fence - A Centinel's Walk between: on which no one else can set foot, without forcing the fence, and declaring himself a trespasser at least; if not an enemy. To the four walls, four inch walks flanking and crossing each other at the end - Thus each Centinel has two to check him.

Appendix F

The following is Bentham's description of the physical plant.

Outline of the Plan of Construction of a Panopticon
Penitentiary House, as designed by
Jeremy Bentham of Lincoln's Inn Esq.

"Thou art about my path, and about my bed:
and spiest out all my ways
If I say, peradventure the darkness shall cover me,
then shall my night be turned into day.
Even there also shall thy hand lead me;
and thy right hand shall hold me.

Psalm CXXXIX (XI, 96)

The building circular - the cells occupying the circumference - the keepers, etc. - the centre - an intermediate annualar well, all the way up, crowned by a sky light usually open, answering the purpose of a ditch in fortification, and of a chimney in ventilation - the cells, laid open to it by an iron grating.

The yards without, laid out upon the same principle - as also the communication between the building and the yards.

By blinds and other contrivances, the keeper concealed from the observation of the prisoners, unless where he thinks fit to show himself; hence, on their part, the sentiment of an invisible omnipresence. The whole circuit reviewable with little, or, if necessary, without any, change of place.

One station in the inspection part affording the most perfect view of the two stories of cells, and a considerable view of another - the result of a difference of level.

The same cell serving for all purposes: work, sleep, meals, punishment, devotion. The unexampled airiness of construction conciliating this economy with the most scrupulous regard to health. The minister, with a numerous but mostly concealed auditory of visits, in a regular chapel in the centre, visible to half the cells, which on this occasion may double their complement.

The sexes if they are admitted invisible to each other.

Solitude, or limited seclusion, ad libitum. But unless for punishment, limited seclusion in assorted companies of two, three and four, is preferred: an arrangement upon this plan alone exempt from danger. The degree of seclusion fixed upon may be preserved, in all places, and at all time, inviolate. Hitherto, where solitude has been aimed at, some of its chief purposes have been frustrated by occasional associations.

The approach, one only - gates opening into a walled avenue cut through the area. Hence, no strangers near the building without leave, nor without being surveyed from it as they pass, nor without being known to come on purpose. The gates, of open work, to expose hostile mobs: on the other side of the road, a wall with a branch of the road behind, to shelter peaceable passengers from the fire of the building. A mode of fortification like this, if practicable in a city, would have saved the London prisons, and prevented the unpopular accidents in St. George's Fields.

The surrounding wall, itself surrounded by an open palisade, which serves as a fence to the grounds on the other side. Except on the side of the approach, no public path by that fence. A sentinel's walk between: on which no one else can set foot, without forcing the fence, and declaring himself a trespasser at least, if not an enemy. To the four walls, four such walks flanking and crossing each other at the ends. Thus each sentinel has two to check him.

Thus simple are the leading principles. The application and preservation of them in the detail, required, as may be supposed, some variety of contrivance.

N.B. - The expense of this model might, it is supposed, be brought within half of the late ingenious Mr. Blackburn's, which was £120 a man.

Appendix G

U.C.L., Box 153a, Sheets 123, 124, 125, 126

Sheet 123

Chemistry. No science more importantly or universally useful than Chemistry, scarce any so easily learnt, none till of late more generally unknown. Not an object that presents itself to view that does not declare the utility of Chemistry, not an hour can pass over a man's head in which an acquaintance more or less familiar with this science may not have its use. The earth he treads on, the bread he eats, the water he drinks, the fire he warms himself by, the very air he breathes, all are subject to the empire of chemistry. Chemistry is the handmaid of Economy, if chemistry be useful to the opulent, it is much more highly so to the poor. If the whole of the science taken in its whole expanse forms an ornamental part of the new education of the Peer, it constitutes what may be termed a necessary part of that of the Peasant. How to breathe his air in its state of unimpaired salubrity, how to choose his water and obtain it in its best state, how to have his bread as wholesome, as palatable, as cheap as may be, how to choose his food and make it go as far as possible, how to keep his house and the persons of its inhabitants in a state of sufficient cleanliness at the least expense, how to keep his little stock of every kind from spoiling against the several causes of deposition to which the articles it is composed of are respectively exposed, how to make the most of every species of refuse

Sheet 124

which his household affords, and thus establish a reciprocal and perpetually recurring subserviency betwixt concumption and production, the most useful and most practical of all these instructions belong to the province of chemistry and the degree of profit he succeeds in deriving from them depends upon his acquaintance with those truths which whoever is in possession of them, stands indebted to that most delightful as well as useful science.

Sheet 125

If usage in despite of reason were to be received as a measure of utility, Chemistry could not be reckoned a twentieth part as useful as Greek: since for one who has any degree of acquaintance with the modern science, twenty at least may be found who have an equal degree of acquaintance with the ancient language. Yet instruction in the science is as easy as the sounds that comprize the language are difficult and tiresome.

The air we breathe is composed of two elements or ingredients, the one which is also one of the two component parts of the water we drink, the other entres into the composition of our bread and most other articles of food: of water the remaining ingredient is that to which in conjunction with the first mentioned ingredient of the air we are indebted for the light and heat which makes up for us the absence of the sun. What can be more familiar to us than the respective subjects of these instructions? What more apprehensible to science and reason than the proportions they deliver? What more satisfactorily demonstrable than the truth of these propositions.

Sheet 126

The arts of preparing food, of cleansing and repairing apparel, the arts of cooking, washing and mending do not come with stricter propriety within the plan of a suitable education for the female of the inferior classes than does a considerable part of the truths of which the science of chemistry is composed.

But to speak of improvements and discoveries - there is none of those familiar and domestic that can be practised to the best advantage even in its present state without an acquaintance with chemistry.

Appendix H

U.C.L., Box 149, Sheet 77

Through one of two species of exercise, the first calculated for combining sport with profit, and giving

the running of a child as soon as it can

the other for giving the greatest effect possible in point of quantity of force to human labour.

I Sinking stage for producing an up-and-down motion by the weight of children. A stage hanging at an end of a beam, with the other end of which is connected the burthen: water (suppose) to be raised by a bucket or by a pump, pressing upon the stage causes it to sink. Children, each of a known weight, would in a certain number produce the effect. The length of the stage is adapted to the proposed number of children, and runs in a direction transvers to that of the beam, to arrive at a stage they run up an inclined plane: a slight horizontal rail serves to mark out the place for each child upon the stage, to which, to prevent jostling, he is conducted by a corresponding rail running up the inclined plane. The stage may have two stories: the upper requiring a longer hill to climb, will be for the older and stronger set of children. It might also at each storey have two relaxers parallel to each other, and at right angles to the first stage, the three together forming three sides of a square. Contrivance will of course be requisite to preserve the children from receiving hurt by any considerable disposition produced in the between the power and the burthen: but this is no more than what any mechanist will know how to provide for, in a variety of ways according to the nature of the work.

Appendix I

U.C.L., Box 149, Sheet 78

Heads

2 Rowing wheels; a wheel turned by a winch, with a fly wheel to equalise the motion; the circle described by the hand of a man can be made to discribe while he sits. A bench for the workman to sit on which turns, as a waterman does while he rows: with a stretcher, such as a waterman has, for his feet to push against. When tired of working on his feet in the ordinary way, a man might then sit and work in the way of rowing; he might work between standing and sitting, and work with more or less effect according to his being most by his hands or supported himself most by his feet. He might then at each round exert a force even greater than that of the weight of his body, or a force in any degree less: the traction of the main wheel being still kept equal by the fly-wheel notwithstanding all these disparities. Seating himself between two such machines a man might work one of them with his left hand, while he worked another with his right: acting as a waterman does in sculling. Five men sitting opposite each with a wheel to his right, the axles of the wheels being in line, might relieve each other, each taking the other's wheel in addition to his own; each having a rail behind him to repose himself against, when not at work. A child that would but just go alone could work at a machine of this sort adapted

to its size: the number of the turns made by the fly wheel would measure the quantity of the work.

Appendix J

10 Collateral Use the tenth-Veterinary School Establishment.

Another collateral use might be the affording a system of cheap and accessible instruction in what is called by an appellation so unhappily inexpressive the Veterinary art or veterinary science: the art which occupies itself in the care or prevention of diseases or accidents incident to horses and other domestic and serviceable animals.

This branch of knowledge, so useful in itself, must, to be extensively useful be proportionately widespread. But in this view the lectures given in the neighbourhood of London useful as the institution is and deserving of every encouragement, can do but little. Country Farriers can never support the expence of an abode of some months preceded and followed by the expence of journey to and from the University, for the higher class of Cattle Doctors.

But by the means in question the art may be spread all over the kingdom in a manner instantaneously, almost if not altogether, without expence to the public, and altogether without expence to the pupils. The expence, if any, would only be the requiring the lodgers to come to the House to qualify himself or to have qualified himself for giving a course of Veterinary Instruction by having attended a certain number of courses in quality of dissectory pupil at the London Academy. This would be nothing more than a continuation or rather development of those studies which he must already have pursued at the anatomical lectures that attendance without which he would have been useful to be received as a candidate for the office. In the lectures of Dr. William Hunter the illustration afforded to the anatomy and physiology of the human frame by the inferior animals took up a time on many occasions inferior perhaps to that which was more immediately devoted to the principal subject.

Appendix K

Si venus sit inter voluptates et felicitas constet ex voluptatibus (adeo ut summa felicitatis data summa infelicitatis est ut valor summae voluptatum) summa felicitatis erit caeteris paribus ut summa veneris quo casu, venus productiva sit nec ne, quid refert?

Qui igitur veneris speciem aliquam proscribere vellet, in eum incumbat probatio casu veneris speciem dolorem gignere, nec solum dolorem, sed ad valorem majorem valore voluptatis.

Sed (abstractione facta doloris) consecutive, quanto gratior voluptatis alicujus species, tanto melior.

Esto centum congressus procreando sufficientes in anno intra annum potentia prolifica media hominis medii.

Sed intra id spatium partus datur non plus quam unicus. Sequitur non plus centesima parte potentiae prolificae qua in mundo est ad generationem posse contribuere. Reliquia nonaginta novem necesse est ut aut supprimantur aut sine effectu prolifico consumantur. Sed pars ista sterilis, supprimatur an consumatur quid ad fecunditatem refert?

Sequitur dummodo centesima pars tantum potentiae prolificae more prolifico in(sic)sumeretur, consumptionem non prolificam reliquarum 99 populationi officere non posse, quin ea ad maximum offeretur, ut ut iste usus non prolificus in vias antephysicas dictas totus de ... eret(?)

Sed si desiderii antiphysici dicti quantitas aequalis fuerit quantitati desiderii prolifici, quo sensu ille antiphysici nomen mereri dici poterit?